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Tonga OU9

[For information on interisland warfare, see Category 669.]

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Ardeo and Mooa by Wilson). The map published by one of these missionaries (60) is innocent of villages. As to the cultivation of the country they say: "At Tongataboo the country is flat and enclosed, and, though little cultivated, very productive" (65, p. 385).

By Mariner's time the complete breakdown of the central authority and the internecine wars had forced people to take refuge in fortresses (*kolo*) from time to time. This seems to be the origin of the modern Tongan villages, all of which to-day are designated by the word *kolo*, though none are fortified. The ruins of old fortifications are numerous.

Although the necessity of living together for protection disappeared completely with the destruction of the fortress of Pea in 1852, villages nevertheless persist in Tonga and appear to have come to stay. Christianity and the copra trade are factors that contribute to the maintenance of village life.

MODERN VILLAGE POPULATION

The large modern villages, such as Nukualofa-Maufanga on Tongatabu, Neiafu on Vavau, and Pangai-Hihifo on Lifuka Island, represent the acme of development in village growth and consequently the greatest departure from the rural distribution of population observed by Captain Cook. These large villages are composed of an assemblage of unrelated family groups. Thus, Hihifo, is said by one informant to comprise three groups of kindred headed by the chiefs and matapule Tuita, Pouangi, and Tea. In the smaller villages, however, it seems likely that the inhabitants are bound to one another by blood ties and that these little communities do not depart far from the grouping of people in ancient times. The tiny village of Siesia, Nukunukumotu Island, is an example. The relationship of the 16 individuals of this hamlet in 1920 are given below.

House 1

1. Kula, father of 5. A *toutai* (navigator or fisherman) and former mayor of Siesia. His wife was Finau of Folaha, Tongatabu, now dead.
2. Fatai, son's son of 1, named after brother of 1.
3. Maria, wife of 2. A woman of Maufanga, Tongatabu; upon marriage came at once to Siesia to live.
4. Solomon Tanaki, son's son of 1 and brother of 2, unmarried, named after brother of 1, by midwife. Born at Siesia.

House 2

5. Taani, son of 1, and father of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, mayor of Siesia.
6. Mary Anna, wife of 5 and mother of 2, 4, 7, 8, 9.
7. Mili, daughter of 5 and 6, about 13 years old. Twin brother dead.
8. Latu, son of 5 and 6, about 16 years old. He and 13 call each other by brother terms. They are of course only cousins.
9. Mary, daughter of 5 and 6, about 9 years old.

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lineage, is the emissary of the Haa Havea to the Haa Ngata Motua and John Momotu, the present *malanga*, is the "younger brother" (*tchina*) of the Haa Havea. Communications of the Haa Ngata Motua or of Ata to the Haa Havea are made through Momotu. News of a death in either *haa* is transmitted by Momotu to the other *haa*. If a war were brewing, the Haa Ngata Motua might seek the aid of the Haa Havea through Momotu. If trouble arises between Haa Ngata Motua and Haa Havea, Momotu tries to settle the differences. If the Haa Ngata Motua are to make a *pongipongi* (presentation of produce to the Tui Kanokupolu) Momotu notifies the Haa Havea so they may be present, although they do not bring gifts. Thus Momotu acts as intermediary between the two lineages in all matters. There is said to be no Haa Ngata Motua emissary living with the Haa Havea, as they are scattered. The principal Haa Ngata Motua chiefs all live within a mile of one another, and Ahio and Ata actually live in the same village.

PRESENT DAY LINEAGES

Tui Tonga

The recognized lineages of to-day are 13 in number. The lands of each lineage in Tongatabu tend to form a compact area. (See fig. 4.)

The Tui Tonga's lineages are called *sinae*, not *haa*, and comprise three groups: Sinae eiki (those closely related to the Tui Tonga). Sinae eiki ki mua (former or earlier Sinae), and Sinae eiki ki mui (latter or present Sinae). There are commoners belonging to the *sinae* as to the *haa*. While unable to give any literal meaning for *sinae*, informants said that it was applied to the Tui Tonga's lineage, instead of *haa*, because of the Tui Tonga's transcendent rank. This is doubtless only a rationalization. It is possible that *sinae* contains the same stem as Maori *tina* (a company of travellers). At a kava party where neither the Tamaha, the Female Tui Tonga, nor the Tui Tonga were present, one of the Sinae eiki ki mua would preside. The Sinae eiki ki mua consist of the chiefs Veikune, Tamale, Manumua, Lomu, and Tafolo, who are said to be equal in rank. The Sinae eiki ki mui consists of the chiefs Kavakimotu, Lutu, and Fifi, who are said to be equal in rank. Who comprise the Sinae eiki proper I do not know, except that the Tui Tonga was named. Kalaniuvalu and Maatu, two other Tui Tonga chiefs, perhaps belong here also. Manumua of Eua Island was by one informant placed in the Haa Takalaua, by two others in the Sinae. I think he belongs with the Sinae, because it was stated that one of his forefathers was the brother of a Tui Tonga.

Haa Talafale

Haa Talafale is the nominal lineage of the Tui Pelehake (also called Tui Faleua), a title and office which is at present without a holder, but which probably will be filled by one of the Queen's sons. The last incumbent was Fatafehi, the paternal grandfather of the present Queen of Tonga. The original Tui Pelehake, so mythology avers, was the celestial paternal half

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On the whole, judging from what was learned of Matauvave's duties, it would seem better to regard him as a sort of steward or director of works for the Tui Tonga rather than a true governor or viceroy.

THE LIFE OF THE TUI TONGA

The residence of the Tui Tonga was called, apparently metaphorically, Olotele—a name which occurs outside of Tonga (Olotele, a mountain in Tutuila, Samoa; Olokele, a mountain in Maui, Hawaii). The word Olotele embraces more than the house and house-mound of the Tui Tonga, for it was interpreted also as *malae* or green of the Tui Tonga. Various localities called Holeva are said to have been places where the Tui Tonga resided, the name being used like Pangai for the residence of the Tui Kanokupolu.

The earliest Tui Tonga had their capital in central Tongatabu, the tenth and eleventh Tui Tonga at Heketa in northeastern Tongatabu. With the twelfth king the capital was transferred to Lapaha on the eastern shore of the great lagoon of Tongatabu. Lapaha and the adjoining village of Tatakamotonga are spoken of as Mua (First) in reference to their constituting the capital. The actual place at Lapaha at which the Tui Tonga "reigned, *afiu*," or presided ceremonially, was called Ahofakasiu.

Portable houses (*falefata*) were erected for the Tui Tonga at places where he might wish to sojourn. These consisted of the various sections of such parts as the roof, sides, and posts, so prepared that they could be readily put together in a day. When the Tui Tonga's daughter became sick, she was moved into a new house, built specially for the emergency, and called, *faletolia* (*tolia*, satisfied in mind). Another name given to this house was *falevakaipuluhi* (*fale*, house; *vakai*, to take care, vigilant; *puluhi*, sickness, referring only to the Tui Tonga and his immediate blood kin).

The earliest Tongan mention of a Tui Tonga away from his home island of Tongatabu is that of Momo, the tenth ruler, whose visit to Eueiki Island, nearby, is described (26, pp. 71-75). Tuitatui, his son, is also pictured as fraternizing with his boatmen off the shores of Eueiki. Later he dies on Eua Island (op. cit. pp. 45-47).

Talakaifaiki (Samoan Tala'aifei'i) resided part of the time in Samoa where there were dwellings constructed for him on both Upolu and Savaii. He was the last Tui Tonga to reside in Samoa, for he and his officers and troops were expelled by the Samoans under Tuna and Fata. The Tui Tonga before him may have also resided in Samoa (36, vol. 1, p. 468).

Tatafueikimeimua made at least one visit to Samoa in seeking the hand of a beautiful woman (26, pp. 55-60). Kauulufonua I, the next king known to have travelled, is reputed to have waged war throughout the Tongan domains, in Samoa, Uvea, Futuna, and Fiji, and to have sent governors to various parts of the Tongan kingdom including Uvea. The Tui Tonga

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walking stick of a chief and to the staff of a matapule. The skill with which the fly whisk was handled usually elicited remarks from surrounding gossips. To use it swiftly and precisely elicited the comment: "He is an accomplished chief; long has he used the *fue*." If a man were clumsy in handling it, it was asked: "Who is this man who shakes his *fue* like a *tua*?"

Many great chiefs or warriors were tattooed in eccentric manners to distinguish them from common people. Vahai had two lines on each side, the upper ones extending to the breasts. King George I Tupou is said to have had the head of his penis completely covered with tattooing to show his disregard for pain as well as to mark him peculiarly.

A headdress of feathers (*fae* or *faefae*) was worn by chiefs during times of festival or ceremony or at the outset of a war expedition.

A chiefly person or a high matapule (and the members of his household) washed his hands in a special bowl (*kumete fanofano*). That of the Tui Tonga (called *fakafanonga*—rendered by Baker [2] as *fafanonga*) was used by him only. A commoner usually washed his hands by rubbing them with the pith of the stock of the *fusi* banana.

Each chief of consequence had as part of his establishment a public house, *falehau*, for the entertainment of distinguished visitors (42). Tasman (30) pictures such a house as open on all sides. There were also houses for the sons and daughters of chiefs and their associates (42).

The chiefs owned all the land and could take what they pleased from their tenants and even kill them. On Lifuka, commoners inland could not fish on the lee side of the island. A commoner catching a large fish must give it to the chief. If he ate it he might be brought before the chief and condemned to death. To a commoner who refused to obey his order, the chief might say, "You are going to be dead," and it was not unknown for such a one, as he started away, to drop dead.

The arbitrary power and cruelty of some of the chiefs is manifest from the early accounts. The Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho cut off one arm from each of his cooks and Ulukalala (Mariner's patron) tortured and drowned political enemies. The cruelty of Teukava, a contemporary of Tukuaho and Ulukalala, was of a different type. On one occasion he gave a feast in which the entertainers were naked girls. At another festival (*katoanga*), he arranged in a circle a group of men suffering with elephantiasis of the testicles and went about with a hook pulling their privates out into view. Apparently the victims were entirely at his mercy, opposition probably meaning death.

On Fotuhaa Island, Haapai, is a cliff from which commoners jumped into the foaming surf to get bananas (*hopa*) thrown into the sea by the chiefs. The cliff is named Haamoa because of a Samoan who was killed while thus entertaining the chiefs.

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Kanokupolu, or perhaps Tui Haa Takalaua, developed his own kava circle (fig. 1) as a secondary ceremony to that of the Tui Tonga. Along with it there arose minor differences of procedure. The two separate courts which thus developed were called metaphorically Kauhalauta (Inland-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Tonga; and Kauhalalalo (Shore-side-of-the-road), referring to the Tui Kanokupolu, and traditionally to the earlier Tui Haa Takalaua. The Tui Tonga's type of kava procedure seems to have given way everywhere to that of the Tui Kanokupolu, except on the island of Fotuhaa, where according to the informant Moungatonga, the Kauhalauta procedure is still followed.

In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Tonga presided, he received the second cup of the beverage, the first going to one of his matapules. The cup was carried to him in silence, his title not being called. In a formal kava circle in which the Tui Kanokupolu presides, the third cup is his. It is announced as "Ave ia maa Taliai Tupou" (Take it to Taliai Tupou). As Taliai Tupou is the name of the patron god of the Tui Kanokupolu, it would appear that the king impersonates the god. Anciently the Tongans poured out kava as an offering to the gods, as is done in Samoa to-day as an offering to the Deity. The kava drinking was the occasion for making welfare prayers.

In the accounts of the Kauhalauta procedure which follow no deity is mentioned. They appear to date from the time of the Tui Tonga, as reference to the Moheofo (the Tui Tonga's wife) indicates. The following translations are from a manuscript by the late Malupo, a matapule to the Tui Tonga.

If it is the illness of the Tui Tonga, or the sickness of a chief, and the country is in trouble, then these words shall be used, in mixing the kava: "The kava is diluted."

The person who is directing the serving says, "Diluted with a blessing."

Then the mixer repeats: "The kava is diluted."

The real significance is a prayer for a blessing by the means of the kava, because of the sickness of the Tui Tonga, or the illness of a chief, or any difficulty the land may be in. It is not right for any ordinary person to invoke the blessing. Only a chief, or a matapule who is a clever speaker, may do it; and it is not done at random; but only when the kava is diluted. At that moment he speaks.

The kava ceremony is performed also when preparing for war, or during war, or for a voyage, or for work that is to be done. In addition to performing a kava ceremony when the Mohefo expects to be confined, a prayer (*lotui*) is said that the child may be a son, and many prayers are offered by the people.

This prayer may also be uttered:

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out of respect to the highest chief. Thus Tungi's sitting outside the coronation kava ring in 1918 was to show respect to the Tui Kanokupolu (Tungi's wife). Tungi had a matapule near him, however, a departure from the custom of the preceding Tungi.

Veehala, Maafu, Ata, and Vahai are chiefs who hand their kava to their matapule. Both chiefs and matapule receive the kava with both hands held low. Each matapule sits on the side of his chief away from the king. When the chief passes his kava to his matapule, he does so with one hand, so that the back of the arm is toward the king. The matapule receives the kava with both hands, holds it a while and then returns it to the chief, who receives it with the same hand with which it was passed. The chief then drinks it. The handing of the kava to the matapule is a sign to the one serving that the matapule must not be overlooked. To do so would be an offense to the chief and would be a cause for war.

Precedence is very important. If there are, for example, two Moala in the ring and the matapule who is serving does not know their distinctive appellations, both may clap their hands when the name Moala is called. The serving matapule then calls for two cups to be filled. If one of the Moala wishes to argue over the matter, he calls for the servers to stop. The order of precedence is then discussed and settled.

All food and kava, brought in *hoamo* fashion (on shoulder poles) was deposited before the president in a long row, horizontally facing him. When placed before the president, his matapule chanted, each in his alternate turn, at time intervals of a few minutes: "Fakafetai toho kava; fakafetai fanga puaka; fakafetai ngaue" (Thanks for the *toho* kava; thanks for the pigs, thanks for the ovens of food).

FUNERAL KAVA CEREMONIES

The following account of funeral kava ceremonies for a great chief is derived from a manuscript by the late John Panuve Maatu, chief of Niuatoputapu:

At a funeral, Lauaki serves at the kava parties till the time of the placing of small stones on the grave (*lauakilikili*). Then Motuapuaka takes his place. Thereafter the kava and the cooked food are brought to the grave.

This is the way of thanking the matapule one after the other when all is ready: "Thank you for *kava-noo* (kava bound together). Thank you for *kava hoamo* (kava carried on the shoulders). Thank you for *kava hula* (huge kava). Thank you for *kava toho* (kava too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)."

This is the manner of thanking for the work, one thing after another: "Thank you for *ngaue* (a word applied to the preparing of food in a native oven). Thank you for the *feiumu fakahunga* (very large food). Thank you for the *feiumu hula* (huge food). Thank you for the *feiumu toho* (food too large to be carried, but dragged on the ground)."

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leader and also a participant in the fighting. Similarly, the prince Laufilitonga, before he became Tui Tonga, engaged in considerable campaigns against Taufaahau, who became the Tui Kanokupolu. So far as Tongan tradition goes there seems to be no record of a Tui Tonga engaging in warfare while in office.

In addition to the commander-in-chief, the commander, and the assistant war-chiefs of a force, the braves (*toa*) seem to have been important. Warriors of high repute were privileged to wear their hair in a style called *malumalu*, a fashion wherein the hair is allowed, or rather trained, to hang down over the forehead to such an extent as to virtually mask the eyes. When such a man entered the fight his enemies would say, "This must be a great warrior; I wonder whom he can be." Just as he met and engaged the enemy, the warrior would throw his head back, tossing his hair away from his eyes and so disclose his identity to the enemy. This element of mystery and startling disclosure gave the warrior a moral advantage.

Scouts preceded a Tongan army when it took the field. The wooden gong or drum called *lali* was used as an announcer of war and also to announce the taking of prisoners, special beats indicating to the listeners the nature of the news. (See 17, pp. 139, 140-143.)

Although no accounts of actual naval battles are extant, it is obvious that the transport of troops by sea was developed to a high degree. Besides the innumerable troop movements between the three Tongan groups there are traditional accounts of movements to other archipelagoes and islands. The famous cruise of Kauulufonua I to the various Tongan islands and then to Samoa, Uvea, and Futuna is a good example. Tongan troops in large numbers must have been transported overseas in order to subjugate Samoa in the time of the earlier Tui Tonga. Then there is evidence of attacks on Niue, certain of the Ellice Islands, and even the Gilbert Islands (22).

The Tongans placed great reliance in fortifications which usually comprised an encircling ditch, earth wall, and fence. On the low islands such fortresses were usually on level ground. In hilly islands advantage was taken of naturally strategic locations, as for example a ridge between two canyons. A fortress was called *kolo*, a word now applied to a modern village. Nowadays a fortress is called *kolotau* to distinguish it from an unfortified village. McKern (42) describes the various types of fortresses. The fortresses bore names, as did usually each of their gates.

The word *kapafoli* (to environ, to surround, to besiege) applies particularly to the Tongan practice of laying siege; *kapasia* (to be stormed, taken, besieged) refers to the attackers climbing the walls or forcing the gate of a fortress, a thing which seems to have been occasionally done. The storming of Kamba, Fiji, in 1853, by Tongan troops is a good example (54, pp. 363, 364) and illustrates also a customary type of boasting "that the troops

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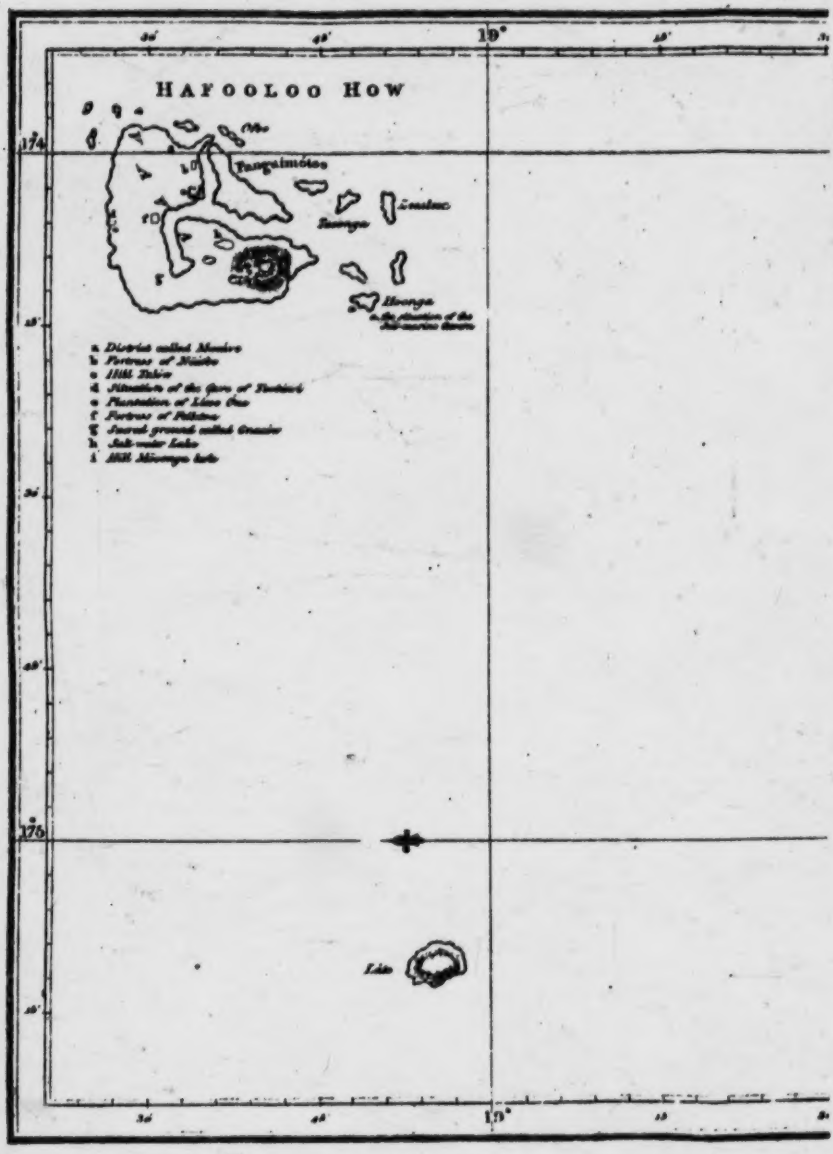

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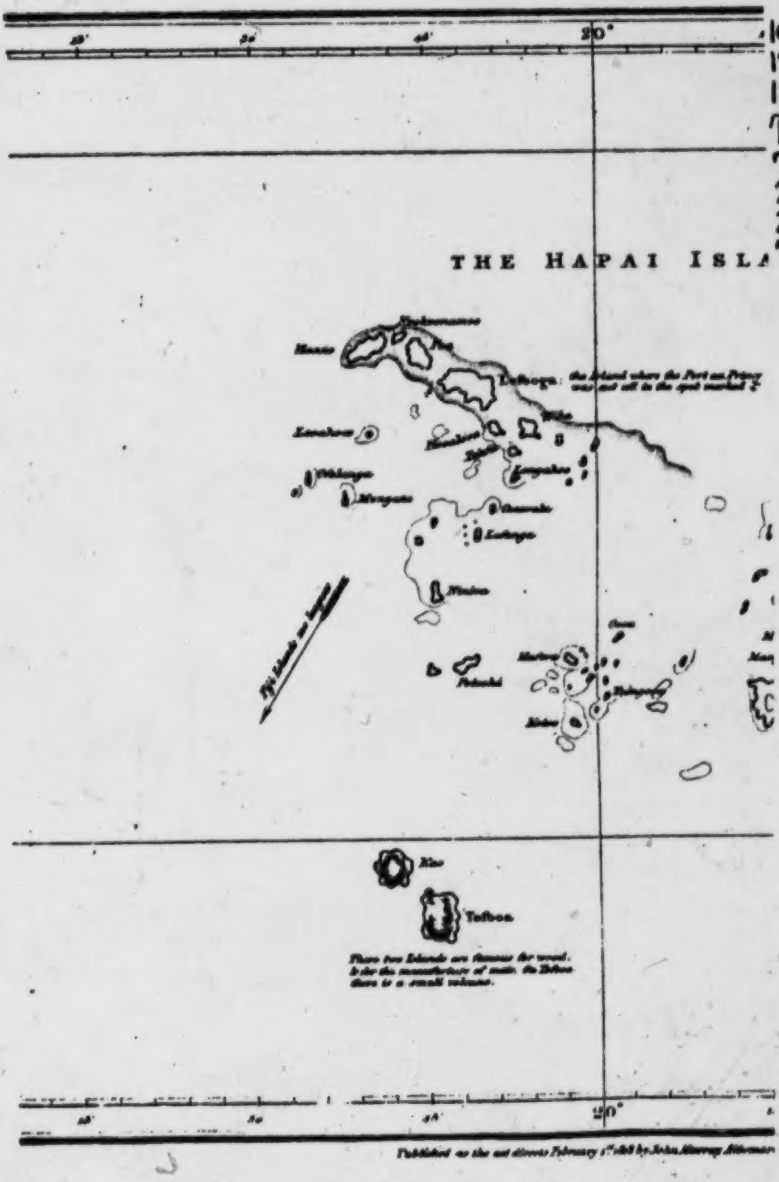

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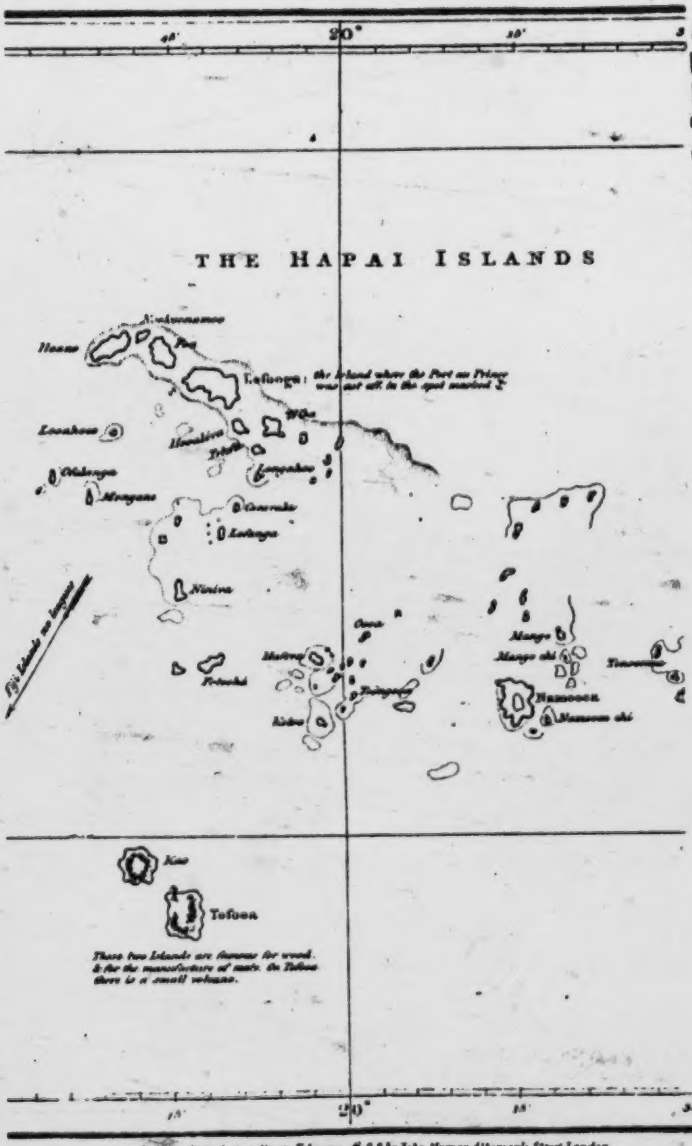
THE HAPAI ISLANDS
Lefunga : the Island where the Port au Prince was cut off in the 1806 mentioned 2
Fiji Islands in Longitude
Kao
Tofoua
These two Islands are famous for wood, & for the manufacture of mats. On Tofoua there is a small volcano.

Published as the act directs February 1st 1818 by John Murray Albemarle Street London.

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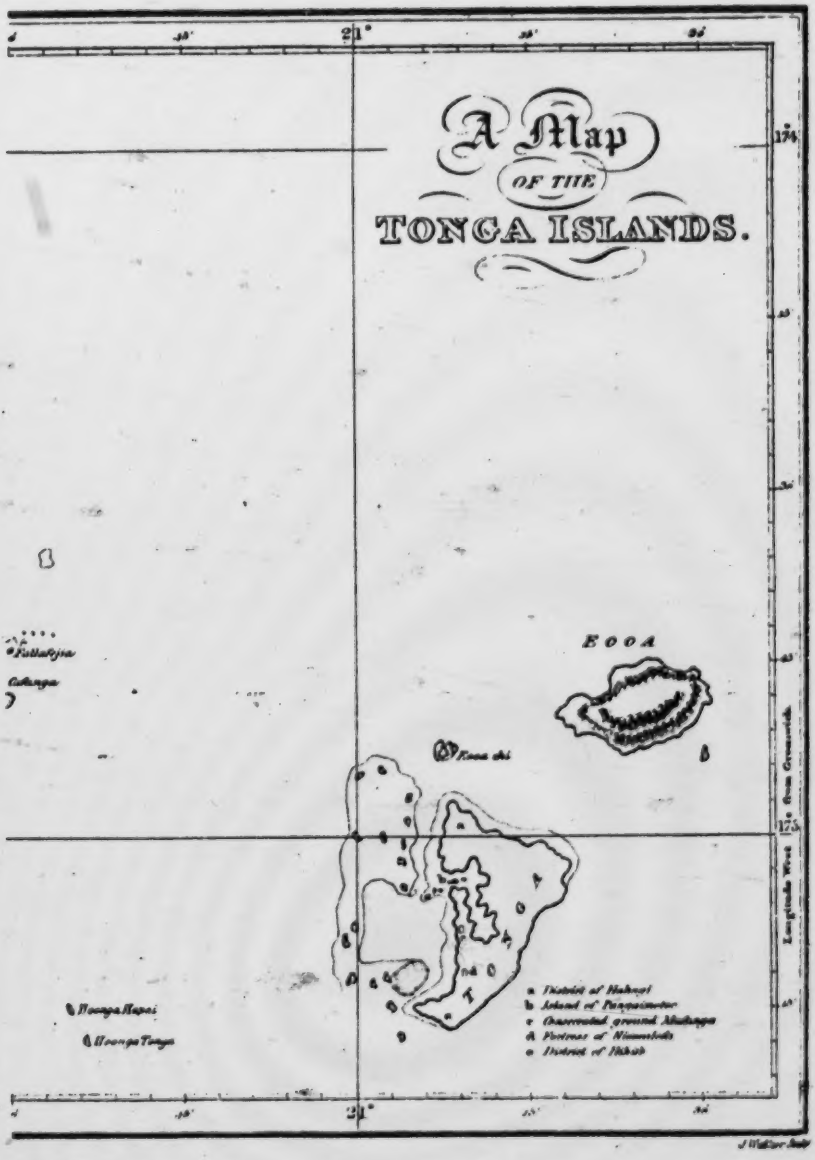

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obliged to be worked every half hour out of two. By this time finding she had missed Otaheite, by reason of an adverse current, she steered to the westward for the Tonga islands, and on Thursday the 27th of November saw that part of them called the Hapai islands, bearing W. 12 miles. The leak had now increased to eighteen inches per hour.

On Saturday, the 29th of November, 1806, at 4 P. M. the Port au Prince brought to, for the last time, in 7 fathoms water at the N. W. point of one of the Hapai islands, called Lefooga, in the same place where Captain Cook had formerly anchored. In the evening a number of Indian chiefs came on board with a large barbacued hog, and a quantity of ready dressed yams, as a present to the ship's company: with them came a native of Owhyee, who spoke a little English, which he had formerly learned on board an American ship, that had taken him from the Sandwich islands to Manilla, and thence had brought him to the Tonga islands. This man, whose name was Tooi Tooi, and whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak of, endeavoured, by all the means of expression that lay in his power, to convince the ship's company that the natives were disposed towards them in the most friendly manner. Another Sandwich islander, however, whom the Port au Prince had brought along with her, as may be recollected,

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with seven others, from Anahooroo bay, declared his opinion that the Indians had hostile intentions, and he advised Mr. Brown to keep a watchful eye over them, and even to send all out of the ship, excepting a few chiefs, by treating whom in a friendly way, the produce of the islands might be procured. Mr. Brown, however, disregarded this sage admonition, ordered the man to quit the quarter-deck, and even threatened to flog him—a treatment which the poor fellow little deserved, for his opinion of the natives was but too well founded, although his less honest countryman Tooi Tooi had spoken so well of them: and had not Mr. Brown unfortunately been above receiving good advice, the Port au Prince might again have reached England in safety, and thus he might have preserved his own life, and the lives of many others.

On Sunday morning, the 30th of November, the men were ordered to be busily engaged in careening the vessel, at which they all demurred, and some absolutely refused, being desirous of going on shore, as they had been accustomed to do, on Sundays, at whatever place they had touched at during the voyage; and to this they were further encouraged by the pernicious invitations of the natives. It is indeed sometimes extremely difficult, under such circumstances,

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114 to preserve good order and prompt obedience among the men; and yet the state of the ship, at this time, perhaps, fully required the greatest exertions, and the most watchful care. Mr. Brown, irritated by these symptoms of discontent, the fault of which was in no small degree to be laid to his own account, seemed to have less use of his judgment, at a time when he required it most. The men came aft, to request permission to go on shore: this he peremptorily refused, telling them they might go to H—l if they pleased, but that they should not go on shore till the work was done on board, and ordered them immediately to quit the quarter-deck: they instantly complied. A short time after James Kelly jumped up on the gang-way with a Spanish stiletto in his hand, and swore by G— he would run the first ——— through who attempted to stop him; he then hailed a canoe: his example was instantly followed by three others, George Wood (the carpenter's mate, who swore he would never rig the pumps again), William Baker, and James Hoay, taking with them all their clothes. Not much time elapsed before fifteen others took the same step. In the 721 114 afternoon the remainder of the crew came aft, with a complaint that a considerable number of the natives had assembled between decks, armed with clubs and spears, and whose behaviour

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gave ample grounds to suspect that they intended to take the vessel. This was indeed their object, having already digested their plan, which Mr. Mariner afterwards learned from a young chief named Vaca-ta-Bola: it will be well to relate it here in its proper place, although they did not at this time succeed. During the present interval, Vaca-ta-Bola and another chief were sitting in the cabin with Mr. Brown, Mr. Dixon, and Mr. Mariner. Whilst they were here a canoe was to come under the stern, and Vaca-ta-Bola was to rise up suddenly and call out with seeming great earnestness to the people in the canoe; on which it may be supposed that Mr. Brown and Mr. Dixon would naturally turn their heads, out of curiosity, to see what was going forward in the canoe, at which moment the two chiefs were to knock them down, with short iron-wood clubs, which they had concealed under their dress. Before the canoe arrived, however, Mr. Mariner happening to go into the steerage was met by the men, who were coming, as before stated, to inform Mr. Brown of the threatening appearance of the natives. Mr. Brown seemed at first not much inclined to pay attention even to this new warning of danger; but when Mr. Mariner assured him that what the men stated was correct, and that, at all events, it would be but common

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prudence to inquire into it, and satisfy their apprehensions, he went upon deck, leading Vacata-Bola by the hand: Mr. Dixon and the other chief followed. During this time Mr. Mariner could not help observing that the two chiefs turned pale, and were evidently much agitated; which he attributed to fear, occasioned by the bustle which appeared, without their understanding the cause: though the truth was they imagined their plot discovered, and their fate inevitable. When they arrived upon deck, and were given to understand that Mr. Brown did not like to have so many men on board armed with clubs and spears, they pretended to interest themselves very much in throwing their arms overboard, and in ordering the natives out of the ship. Mr. Mariner, in the mean while, noticed that they took great care not to throw away the best and most handy clubs, but contrived to get them safe into the canoes, by passing them from one to another: this he also attributed to a wrong motive, imagining that they wished to save them merely on account of their goodness, whilst the bad ones they threw away without reluctance. Mr. Brown, with a view of wearing also a pacific appearance, ordered the tomahawks, boarding-pikes, and other arms, to be removed below.

In the evening, after the natives had gone on

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shore, the carpenter and sail-maker spoke to Mr. Brown on the propriety of having the muskets up, and placing centinels on deck to keep the natives off, as their number prevented them from working; but, unfortunately, too self-willed and obstinate in error, he treated every wholesome admonition with indifference, and accordingly no such measures were taken.

The following fatal day, Monday, the 1st December, 1806, at eight o'clock in the morning, the natives began to assemble on board, and soon increased to 300 in different parts of the ship. About nine o'clock Tooi Tooi, the Sandwich islander, before mentioned as having endeavoured to inspire the ship's company with a good opinion of the friendly disposition of the natives, came on board, and invited Mr. Brown to go on shore and view the country: he immediately complied, and went unarmed. About half an hour after he had left the ship, Mr. Mariner, who was in the steerage, went to the hatch for the sake of the light, as he was about to mend a pen; looking up, he saw Mr. Dixon standing on a gun, endeavouring, by his signs, to prevent more of the natives coming on board: at this moment he heard a loud shout from the Indians, and saw one of them knock Mr. Dixon down with a club: seeing now too clearly what was the matter, he turned about to run towards the

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"not conceal our ceremonies from them, why
"do not they expose theirs to us? In the mean
"while Morgan said to the chiefs, 'You see the
"'effect of their incantations; several of you
"'are dying every day; by and by you will be
"'all cut off, and the king of England will take
"'possession of your islands; for although you
"'have the remedy in your power, you will not
"'make use of it.'—The chiefs took the alarm
"in time; they rushed upon the white men,
"and killed all but three*, who were at that
"time under the protection of Veachi;" a great chief, hereafter to be noticed.

Such was the cause of the fate of the missionaries, as related by the king to Mr. Mariner, who often afterwards heard the same relation from other chiefs. He inquired what became of the three that were under the protection of Veachi, and learnt that they were killed during a civil war: they might indeed have made their escape, along with some natives who invited them into a canoe, which was going to another island, but they chose to remain; urging for their reason that they had not quarrelled with any of the Tonga people, and that consequently they should not be hurt; the others informed them, however, that it was the Tonga custom

* From the "Transactions of the Missionary Society," it appears that only three were killed.

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them leave to build a vessel for the express purpose, but in the progress of the work happening unfortunately to notch one of their axes, he refused any longer the use of them.

Thus cut off from all present hopes of escape, it became more than ever necessary to conform their minds to the manners and customs of the people whom they were among; but in a short time the ever changing events of war served to create a degree of activity in the mind, destructive of disagreeable reflections, and fruitless regrets.

As we are now about to enter upon a new scene of things, in which the political interests of these islands are particularly concerned, it becomes necessary to afford a general view of their history, from the time of Captain Cook; and particularly for the twelve or fifteen years previous to Mr. Mariner's arrival there, with a view to understand perfectly the state of things as he found it.

At the time when Captain Cook was at these islands, the habits of war were little known to the natives; the only quarrels in which they had at that time been engaged were among the inhabitants of the Fiji islands, about 120 leagues to the westward; for having been in the habit of visiting them for sandal wood, &c. they occasionally assisted one or other of the warlike par-

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ties against the enemy. The bows and arrows which before that period had been in use among the people of Tonga were of a weaker kind, and fitted rather for sport than war,—for the purpose of shooting rats, birds, &c. From the fierce and warlike people of those islands,[A] however, they speedily learned to construct bows and arrows of a much more martial and formidable nature; and soon became acquainted with a better form of the spear, and a superior method of holding and throwing that missile weapon. They also imitated them by degrees in the practice of painting their faces, and the use of a peculiar dress in time of war, giving a fierce appearance, calculated to strike terror into the minds of their enemies. These martial improvements were in their progress at the time of Captain Cook's arrival, but not in general practice; for having few or no civil dissensions among themselves, the knowledge of these things was confined principally to certain young chiefs and their adherents, who had been at the Fiji islands. Captain Cook describes some evolutions practised by the natives as being forms of war, and indeed they have that appearance; but they are to be considered rather as games and dances, which the Tonga people had learnt from the island of Nuha. None of the oldest natives could give any account of their first dis-

A [The Fiji Islands--Analyst]

175 721 648 175 177 411 175 177 [114] [579] [721] [535] [524] 175 648 F 2

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175 covery of the Fiji islands, but say they went to
648 those islands before the Fiji people came to them: perhaps their canoes were drifted there by strong easterly winds.—Since Captain Cook's time, a certain chief at the island of Tonga*, where all the principal chiefs at that time resided, and whose name was Tooi Hala Fatai, having by former visits contracted the warlike habits of the Fiji islanders, became tired of the peaceful and idle life he led at home, and was therefore determined to repair again to those islands, in company with a number of young
175 men of the same unquiet disposition. They
72 were pleased with the Fiji maxim, that war and
[177] strife were the noble employments of men, and ease and pleasure worthy to be courted only by
[484] the weak and effeminate. Tooi Hala Fatai accordingly set sail with his followers, about 250 in number, in three large canoes, for the island of Laemba; not to make an attack upon the place, but to join one party or the other, and rob, plunder, procure canoes, kill the natives, and in short to do any thing that was, accord-

[101] * It must be observed that Tonga is the name of one of the largest of this cluster of islands, and that it gives name to all these islands taken collectively, as a capital town sometimes gives name to a country; and that it must be received in this latter sense wherever the words "island of" are not used before it.

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ing to their notions, active, noble, and glorious. To give an instance of the spirit of these young men, while yet at the island of Tonga, they on one occasion, during the night, undermined a storehouse of yams, cloth, mats, &c. and working their way up into the place, emptied it of every thing it contained; not that they wanted these things, for they were all independent chiefs, but thus they acted solely for their amusement. They had previously taken an oath, by their respective tutelar Gods and their fathers, not to betray one another under penalty of death; and if on these occasions they met with a stranger, who would not readily enter into their views, they put it out of his power to discover them, by dispatching him without farther ceremony.

This chief and his companions being arrived at the Fiji islands, employed themselves in the way suitable to their inclinations; sometimes joining one party, sometimes another, as caprice, or the hopes of plunder, led them: and as many of these islands were not only at war with one another, but also had civil dissensions among themselves, two or three garrisons on one island being in a state of warfare, one with another, (and this was the case in several of them) the new comers found a choice of employment ready prepared for them.

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They remained here about two years and a half, towards the end of which period they were not contented with joining the wars of others, but entered into one of their own, for the greater acquirement of plunder: and their superior bravery rendered them very successful. Tired at length with their long absence from home, they returned to Tonga; leaving their own canoes behind them, and coming away in the better formed ones of the Fiji islands. In their passage however they experienced a heavy gale, during which one of the canoes, with some of the choicest men, was lost. On the arrival of the remainder at the island of Tonga, they found the place in a state of insurrection; the cause and circumstances of which are as follow:

Long before the period of Tooi Hala Fatai's expedition, Toogoo Ahoo had succeeded to the throne; but had held the reins of government not with the complete satisfaction of his people: far from it. He is reported to have been a man of a vindictive and cruel turn of mind, taking every opportunity to exert his authority; and frequently in a manner not only cruel, but wanton: as an instance of which, he on one occasion gave orders (which were instantly obeyed,) that twelve of his cooks, who were always in waiting at his public ceremony of drinking cava, should undergo the amputation of their left

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islands, and the people are greater cannibals. At the Tonga islands in particular, it may be remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so called) is constantly in a state of war, and scarcity consequently is much more common there than at Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at. At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji islands, but then it has not been the scene of warfare for more than about twenty years, whereas the latter nation has been familiar, more or less, with this scourge of the human race, from time immemorial.

Now we are upon this subject, we may mention, that at Tonga, the atives report that some time before Mr. Mariner's arrival among them, an European ship touched there, the boat of which, on landing near Mafanga, had a quarrel with some of the natives, in consequence of which, three of her crew were killed and dragged up the country. These the natives embowelled and dressed the same as pork, and several ate heartily of them; but shortly afterwards they were all taken very ill, being attacked with nausea and vomiting to a violent degree, and three of them actually died. Some of the natives attributed this circumstance to an unwholesome quality in white man's flesh, others

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CHAPTER XIV.

The large fortress of Felletoa rebuilt—The late king appears to Foonagi (a female chief) in a dream—The charm of Tattao—Tonga-mana arrives from the Hapai islands respecting the Inachi—Certain political views arising from this circumstance—Permission granted to Toobó Tóa to come to Vavaoo to perform the usual ceremonies at Finow's grave—His conduct on this occasion—His astonishment at the warlike appearance of the new garrison—Arrival of *Lulohea cow Kefoo* from Hapai—Great storm of thunder and lightning; its effects on the minds of the people—Dreams of a number of women, predicting the death of Tooitonga—Illness of Tooitonga—The fingers of several children cut off as sacrifices to the gods—Several children strangled—Tooitonga's death—His burial—The king prepares himself to perform the usual ceremonies at his father's grave—Accident of Mr. Mariner's sneezing: his quarrel with the king on this account: his after conduct: their reconciliation.

SOON after the burial of the late king, Finow Fiji proposed to his nephew (the present king) to rebuild the large garrison at Felletoa, which might serve as a strong and impenetrable fortification, in case of attack from a foreign enemy: besides which, he justly observed, that the garrison being rebuilt, it might serve as a place of residence for all the chiefs and great warriors; a measure in itself highly political, as it would

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712 prevent the seditious from forming cabals and
[721] parties, which they might more easily do whilst
[661] living at a distance up the country, than they could under the eyes of the king. But it was not proposed that they should reside constantly at the garrison, and, by that means, neglect their plantations in the country, but that each should have a house built with the usual conveniences for his wife and family, within the fencing, to reside in at night, visiting his plantations during the day; or to retire to wholly, in case of invasion, civil commotion, and when-
[634] ever the king should order him to do so. This proposal of Finow Fiji being assented to by the king, the former requested permission to have the sole management of laying out the plan, and to see it carried into effect, which the latter readily agreed to.

668 During the time the garrison was being re-
754 built, a circumstance happened which seemed
634 to indicate that a conspiracy was on the eve of being formed, if not actually begun, and, as the circumstance alluded to is connected with a certain superstitious ceremony worthy of detail, we shall be particular in the description of it, and give the account of it exactly as it happened.

[831] Foonagi, the wife of Finow Fiji, and formerly the wife of Tymomangnoongoo (a great warrior,

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821 such as invasion, death of a great chief, arrival of an European ship, &c. This event therefore 787 produced, as it generally does, considerable [821] anxiety in the minds of the people; and this anxiety was much increased by the dreams of several women. One dreamed that during the time of the *inachi*, Tooitonga, at the head of a number of hotooas, attacked them, and broke to pieces the consecrated yams; another, that she had been at Bolotoo, and heard a decree of Higooleo, (one of the principal hotooas,) that Vavaoo should shortly experience some great calamity, because the people had neglected some particular and important ceremonies. In this state of the public mind, parties 721 were sent to the outer islands to keep a perpetual watch, and to bring immediate intelligence of any canoe that might appear. In the course 643 of a little time it was remarked that Tooitonga 763 decreased considerably in size, losing flesh every day, although otherwise in good health; it was not long, however, before he began to complain of weakness and loss of appetite. His illness beginning thus to be confirmed, occasioned his relations and attendants to have recourse to the usual ceremonies on such melancholy occasions. Accordingly every day one 643 or other of his young relations had a little 763 finger cut off, as a propitiatory offering to the 782 755 304

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islands besides Finow, that possessed uncommon intellect, as well as good disposition of heart, but none of them seemed endowed with that extraordinary desire of investigation which so strongly characterised the king. Among the most remarkable of these were his uncle, Finow Fiji, and his friend, Hala Api Api. The first of these was venerated for his wisdom; a quality which he derived rather from his great experience, steady temper of mind, and natural solid judgment, than from the light of extraordinary intellectual research. Nevertheless, this divine quality was marked in his countenance; there was something graceful and venerable about his forehead and brow that commanded respect and confidence. He had no quick sparkling look of ardour, nor fire of impetuosity, but his deep-seated eye seemed to speculate deliberately upon objects of importance and utility. His whole physiognomy was overshadowed by a cast of sublime melancholy, but he had been one of the greatest warriors that Tonga ever produced. The islands of Fiji, (whence he derived his name), had been the scenes of his achievements, and the stories recorded of him equalled those of romance; his arm had dispensed death to many a Fiji warrior, whose surviving friends still recollect the terror of his name; but all the warlike propensities of this mighty chieftain seemed

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now absorbed in a conviction of the vanity and absurdity of useless bloodshed; and nothing seemed now to afford him a greater pleasure, (next to giving counsel to those who asked it), than to play with little children, and to mingle with unwonted cheerfulness in their amusements. Finow Fiji was perhaps about fifty years of age*, and was become rather corpulent: his whole demeanour was not erect, powerful, and commanding, like that of his brother, the late king, but his slow step and steady action shewed something of solid worth in his character, that wrought respect in the beholder without any mixture of fear.—It has just been said, that Finow Fiji performed most of his warlike feats at the Fiji islands: the greater part of the time that he was there, Hala Api Api†, though a much younger man, (about thirty,) was his constant friend and companion; they always fought near together, and were said to have owed their lives to each other thirty or forty times over. The mutual friendship of these two was very great, although their characters were widely different in many respects.

To form a tolerable idea of Hala Api Api,

* No native of Tonga knows his age, for no account of the revolution of years is kept.

† The young chief whose conduct towards Talo has been related.

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it would be highly ungrateful in him to leave the protection of a family that had befriended him all along.

After two days stay at the Hapai islands, Captain Fisk ordered the natives out of the vessel, and directed his course to the Fiji islands, to lay in a stock of sandal wood for the China market. It may be proper here to mention, that the conduct of one of those (who chose to remain behind) was very suspicious. He did not originally belong to the Port au Prince, but was taken by her in one of her prizes (a Spanish vessel), when he gave himself out to be an American, though it appeared afterwards that he was a native of Cornwall. He resided at Hapai, with a chief named Lioofau, who was known to be a cunning, treacherous character, and, according to the accounts of many natives, this man was as bad. Thus much, however, is certain, that when Mr. Mariner took leave of the king, the latter taking him on one side, whispered to him to have a watchful eye upon Lioofau, and the Papalangi, mentioning his name, for that they certainly meant to take a vessel the first favourable opportunity. When the ship arrived at the Hapai islands, this man came on board, expressing his wish to return to Europe, and, as he was not to be judged upon mere hearsay evidence, the captain gave him a

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pair of trowsers and shirt, and he fulfilled his duty with the rest of the sailors: though there was, as Mr. Mariner conceived, a great deal in his manner and watchful eye that looked badly. Just upon the ship's departure, however, he got into a canoe, and told the captain that he had changed his mind and would remain where he was, and went on shore without returning the trowsers and shirt. Mr. Mariner afterwards heard, in China, that he had served the captain of the schooner before mentioned exactly in the same way. The gentleman from whom he had this information in China received it from the captain himself, who, at the same time, expressed his firm opinion, that this man meant to take an European ship the first opportunity, or at least to be instrumental in doing it, by giving the natives instructions how it was best to be done. We forbear repeating the name of this individual, lest the reports of him should have been greatly exaggerated; there is too much reason to fear, however, that his designs were bad, and this notice may serve as a hint to ships who may hereafter touch there. The character of the Hapai people is not naturally more treacherous than that of the people of Vavaoo; but as they have more petty chiefs whose interest they have to consult, the opportunity for treachery is perhaps more frequent: and if our great

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727 circumnavigator[A], whose death the world has so
721 much reason to deplore, had known them in
[181] this respect, he would not have misnamed them
[622] *friendly;* for, in fact, they had deliberately
[175] planned a conspiracy against him, and which
would infallibly have been put in execution, if
the chiefs who planned it had not disputed about
the exact mode and time of making the assault.
721 Finow (at that time tributary chief of the Hapai
175 islands, Toogoo Ahoo being king), was not the
723 designer of this conspiracy, but he gave counsel
634 and advice respecting it. The other chiefs proposed to invite the captain and his officers to a grand bo-méë (a night dance by torch-light), and at a signal to massacre him, his officers, and all the marines; but Finow (the late king's father), objected to this, as the darkness of the night would be unfavourable to their operations in taking the two vessels, and proposed rather that it should be done by day, and that they should seize the opportunity of making the attack on the occasion of a grand entertainment which was shortly to be given to him in honour of his arrival, and after they were all destroyed, the men, who would naturally come in search of him, were to be conducted to the further part of the island under pretence that he was there, and *they* were then to be destroyed in like manner: and thus the two ships, their

A [Captain Cook--Analyst]

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crews being so weakened, might be taken (as they supposed), with ease. The entertainment was prepared, and Captain Cook and several officers being invited were present; it happened, however, a little before the appointed time when the signal was to be given, that most of the chiefs still expressed their opinion that the night-time would have been better than the day, and Finow, finding that the majority were of this opinion, was much vexed, and immediately forbad it to be done at all. Thus, no signal being given, the amusements went on without interruption, and Captain Cook and his officers were much pleased with their entertainment, acknowledging it to be far better than any other that they had received at the Friendly islands. (See his third voyage.) Mr. Mariner had this information at different times from several chiefs who were present, and in particular from Finow himself, (the father of the present king, and son of the chief who was at the head of the conspiracy.)

As every information must be interesting which regards the history or fate of this great and good man, to whom society owes so much, we cannot omit mentioning some circumstances, subsequent to his death, upon which the above anecdote so naturally leads the mind to reflect. The people of the Tonga islands behaved towards Cook with every external demonstration

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people; for it is not only to those who are old, both in years and wisdom, that such respect is paid, but every aged man and aged woman enjoys the attentions and services of the younger branches of society. Great love and respect for parents is another prominent mark of their character; and, indeed, it must be so, as it arises out of a two-fold motive: i. e. they pay respect on the score of parentage, and on that of superior chiefship or rank. Every chief also pays the greatest respect towards his eldest sister, which respect he shews in an odd way, but it is according to custom, viz. by never entering into the house where she resides; but upon what exact principle, except custom, Mr. Mariner has not satisfactorily learned.

The same principle of love and respect for parents and superiors engages every man to secure and defend his hereditary rights as another point of religious duty, and in honour to the memory of his ancestors, from whom he received them. By a farther extension of the same sentiment, he loves the island on which he was born, in particular, and all the Tonga islands generally, as being one country, and speaking one language. But the *amor patriæ*, in the more extended sense, cannot be supposed to prevail in a very high degree, for, having no wars with foreigners, the opportunities for the

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186 634 [721] [669] excitement and growth of this passion are not very frequent; nevertheless, in the history of the war at Vavaoo, we shall discover proofs of the existence of this noble sentiment, as well as in the life of Toobó Nuha, and in the death of the late king, who lamented that he left the country in a critical situation. The present king, and his uncle Finow Fiji, are, no doubt, patriots in the best sense of the word.

517 Honour is another principle upon which we must speak; but, in regard to which, it is difficult to give the just character of the Tonga people. That they are honourable, in many respects, there can be no doubt; and that, in other respects, they do things which are, seemingly, at least, very dishonourable, there can be as little question. It was agreeable to every 517 634 generous and honourable sentiment in Teoo [669] Cavá's men, to help him out of the ditch at the [669] [726] peril of their own lives; or in Mr. Mariner's four companions, to save him at the same risk. [609] It was honourable in the late king, who was a very passionate man, and expected to be obeyed, to receive in good part, and readily to excuse, Mr. Mariner's refusal, on many occasions, to conform to orders that were not consistent with [669] his principles. It was honourable in the Vavaoo people to have so much respect for the memory of their late chief, Toobó Nuha, as to resent his

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wrongs by their steady and determined conduct in regard to his murderers: and the behaviour of Toe Oomoo and her sister on this occasion is not unworthy of admiration. Finow Fiji, on the death of his brother, might easily have made himself king, for his party was exceedingly powerful, and heartily wished him to take the supreme command, but he was a man of too much honour to rob his nephew of his right. If a man goes to another island, the chief of which, during his visit, makes war with the island from which he comes, he is bound in honour to side with the chief on whose island he is; and this point of honour, except on extraordinary occasions, is faithfully kept: thus Finow Fiji was at Vavaoo when his brother, the king, waged war with that island, and, honour binding him, he remained in the service of Toe Oomoo, directing his hostilities chiefly against Toobo Toa, and those men who were the actual assassinators of Toobo Nuha. These different instances (and many others might be mentioned) are not only, to a certain degree, honourable in themselves, but are universally considered so by the natives: thus we must not deny that they feel the principle of honour, and practise it to a certain extent: but then what shall we say on the other side of the question? How can we excuse the capture of the Port au

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Prince, and the atrocious circumstances attending it: the assassination of Toobo Nuha; the treachery of Tarky', chief of the garrison of Bea (vol. i. p. 114)? But what stands forward both prominent and glaring, and the truth of which their own confession establishes, is, the serious design they entertained of assassinating Captain Cook and his officers at Lefooga, the 18th of May 1777, and putting to death their acknowledged great and good benefactor! (See vol. ii. p. 60.)

If we were to measure their conduct by the notions of virtue, honour, and humanity received among enlightened nations, we should do them great wrong, and forfeit our own titles to the epithets of just and honourable: we shall therefore endeavour to ascertain in what *their* notions of honour consist, and judge them upon their own principles. Their ideas of honour and justice do not very much differ from ours except in degree, they considering some things more honourable than we should, and others much less so: but they have one principle which to a greater or less extent is universally held among them, which is, that it is every man's duty to obey the orders of his superior chief in all instances, good or bad, unless it be to fight against a chief still superior; and even in this case it would not be actually dishonour-

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be revengeful. In the mean while, we ought not to exculpate from all fault the men who obeyed their chief on the above occasion: they were guilty not because they obeyed, but because they obeyed with willingness, in hope of obtaining what to them were riches. In respect to the intended assassination of Captain Cook, every native of Tonga would have considered it, if it had taken place, a very base act, for which probably the gods would have punished them. Toobo Nuha's assassination of Toogoo Ahoo was esteemed rather a virtue than a crime; but Toobo Toa's assassination of Toobo Nuha was held a very atrocious act, offensive to the gods. An old mataboole used to say, that useless and unprovoked murder was highly offensive to the gods; and that he never remembered a man guilty of it but who either lived unhappily, or came to an untimely end.

Theft is considered by them an act of meanness rather than a crime; and although some of the chiefs themselves have been known to be guilty of it on board ships, it is nevertheless not approved of. Their excuse is the strength of the temptation: the chiefs that would do it are, however, few.

From the above considerations, we are disposed to say, that the notions of the Tonga people, in respect to honour and justice, as we

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 559. **Fakatoa tele:** Do-or-die courage, or rather, like a do-or-die
181 hero.

Meaning and application follow closely the English.

539 559a. **Fakate a Halia:** Marshalling of Halia.
726
181 Used of a numerous crowd of people who, in spite of their numbers, are inefficient and unable to carry out the work for which they were assembled. It is said that the phrase originated with certain fighting at Halia, in the island of Foa, in Haapai. One of the armies engaged was large but was defeated by its less numerous antagonists.

539 560. **Kuo totoa hono nima:** His hand is bloody.
183
701 The warrior who has slain one man is thereby incited to further warlike deeds. Generally of the encouragement to further effort which is given by initial successes.

539 561. **Longolongo ai valu:** Omen of war.
721
183 Used with much the same meaning and range of application as the English "Calm before the storm." The last two words of this phrase are Fijian, and it is possible that the whole phrase may have been brought from Fiji, and the Fijian *rongorongo* modified in the usual way to *longolongo*. *Rongorongo* is the same word, however, as the Tongan *longolongo*.

539 562. **Malanga fai i he ate:** Speech made in the *ate*.
726 **Malanga fai mei he ate:** Speech made from the *ate*.
571 The *ate* is a shrub. The expression indicates being too late in speaking about a thing, or in preferring a request.

The story is that in the fighting of about a hundred years ago one of the regiments from the east of Tongatabu, the Pelehake regiment, dug a great trench in the western part of the island, with the object, it is said, of cutting off the western district from the remainder of Tongatabu. They worked hard and performed prodigies of labor during the night and at about daybreak bathed and rested. The great Vahai, the most formidable of their opponents, happened to sail along in his canoe near to the spot where they had bathed, and noticed the oily appearance of the water, due to the washing of the warriors' heads, and the marks where clay had been turned up (clay being the detergent used by the bathers). Vahai could see by these signs that a great number of people had bathed and guessed at once that so numerous a body of men could be nothing but an army. Landing with his own men to investigate the matter he found the Pelehake people all asleep and slew them. Among the doomed host was one warrior, evidently a fighter of renown, who was standing upright with his eyes open. Vahai thought him awake but in reality he was fast asleep. Vahai pierced him with his spear and the sleeper, suddenly awaked, jumped aside into the bushes *(ate)* and begged for his life, but in vain. He was slain with his companions. Hence this expression indicates an unavailing petition, a request that is made too late.

8: Collocott & Havea M, I-5 (no date) 1922
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563. Mata ki vae: Face to foot, that is, one who is face from head to foot, whose whole body is skillful and alert. 539 701

Applied particularly to the warrior who is not only bold and able in the use of his weapons but is also fleet-footed and able to escape by flight when flight is necessary. Used generally of the man who is capable and active in every direction. 554 826

564. Ngungu tau: Sounding war. 539

Applied primarily to the beating of the native drum for war. There were different ways of beating for different occasions. The war beat evidently produced a very full clear note, and *ngungu tau* has come to mean the note of the drum when it is specially resonant. Such a sound is today regarded as an omen that somebody will die; possibly a reminiscence from the real war beat which was a call to death. Like No. 308 this is used proverbially of signs that something is going to happen. 721 534

565. Pona-tuu: The exact literal translation is uncertain. It is perhaps Standing death-blow. 539 726

The thing indicated is the last effort of a warrior who seeks to slay a foe in the instant of his own fall. A great champion (*toa*) was regularly accompanied by a companion (*hoa*, comrade, *hoa-tau*, comrade in war), who was himself a doughty warrior, the friend of the greater champion in peace and his close attendant in battle. In a struggle between two champions their respective companions assisted them by attacking their adversaries from behind, each champion thus having two enemies to attend to. Should it become manifest to one of the champions that he must be overcome he would strive with his last effort to strike backwards and kill his opponent's companion as he himself fell. This last backward stroke was the *pona-tuu*. Applied generally to the final, supreme effort. 572

566. Popoto faka-Tongatapu: Tongatabu reconciliation. 539

Tongatabu was a land of war, and it was difficult to know whether a reconciliation were genuine or deceptive. 728

567. Ta e ta kae tapa e tapa: The strikers strike and the reserves are in reserve. 539 726

It was the business of the reserves to shout and tell who were slain. The meaning of the phrase appears to be, everybody doing his own job, both those whose business is the actual fighting and those whose function it is to report the progress of the battle. 701

568. Ta e toa tuu e toa: A champion struck down, a champion standing.

This means that after one great warrior is slain another steps forth to oppose the foe. The word for warrior, *To'a*, differs from the word for the tree, *toa*, (*Casuarina equisetofolia*) only in having the glottal stop, and the phrase is sometimes given the meaning that after one casuarina tree is [137] [824]

8: Collocott & Havea M,I-5 (no date) 1922
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539 726 701 824 [137] cut down another grows up. In either case the reference is to the same thing, the labors and struggles of one mighty man who has fallen are taken up by another. This proverb appears in a couplet, "*Ta e tea tuu e toa, Iloga he vale bea hola.*" "A champion has fallen, a champion stands, let him who is unskilled flee."

569. Tala pea taki mai ha tau: Tell and bring an army.

539 571 Like number 536 a derisive retort to one who threatens to report one's conduct. Tell and bring an army to back up your censure. What difference is it going to make if you do tell so-and-so? Is there going to be an army sent to punish me? The same idea is expressed also by *Tala pea e fai ha tau:* Tell, and is there going to be a war?

539 721 571 183 **570. Tata langovaka:** Striking compensation, that is, fighting again to compensate for a previous defeat.

One will use his utmost endeavors to make good the earlier defeat. Used generally of putting forth one's full effort so as to compensate for a previous failure.

539 725 183 **571. Tau kovi pea kovi hono toi:** Bad fighting and bad hiding.

A skillful leader may make good the deficiency in numbers of his troops by a wise use of cover. This indicates a state of things that was bad enough in the beginning and was not remedied by judicious management.

539 726 194 **572. Tofi-kulu:** Head splitting: a knock-out blow.

Used of a final, decisive stroke, an unanswerable argument. The word *kulu*, head, is interesting as showing the initial *k* which has been replaced in the ordinary form of the word by the glottal stop.

539 726 461 183 **573. Tulituli ta:** Chasing up (the) stroke.

An expression from warfare, indicating one who is pursuing a fleeing foe and is just about within striking distance. Applied to one who is putting forth all his effort to accomplish something which he is on the point of bringing off.

539 726 276 554 **574. Vava faka-Vaipoa:** Rejoicing Vaipoa-like.

Vaipoa is a village in Vavau. The phrase is applied to joyful expectations that are not realized. The expression is said to have originated with a great warrior named Mahina who lived in Vaipoa. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, in this case the first, the chief's own. On one occasion Mahina with his fellows of Vaipoa was on a warlike expedition and at the kava preceding the battle Mahina pledged himself to slay the first of the enemy

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175 177 609 643 782 condition that he bared his shoulders; for the Tongans, then as now, did not expect foreigners to conform to their manners, and were lenient to any breach of their laws committed by a stranger in ignorance. On June 25 he set sail, after a stay of seven weeks, and not many months later met his tragic end in Hawaii from an over-confidence in the natives, which his experience of the Tongans (whom he misnamed the "Friendly Islanders") may have helped to engender.

175 178 721 It seems strange that a people who, to both Tasman and Cook, appeared unaccustomed to the use of arms, should, twenty-two years after the visit of the latter, be found practising all the barbarities of savage warfare. What internal ferment, one asks, can have produced so abrupt a change? Native traditionary history supplies the answer. Intercourse with Fiji was warping the Tongan character.

175 177 178 At the time of Cook's visit increasing and regular intercourse with Fiji was rapidly changing the Tongans for the worse. Ethnologically, between Fiji and Tonga [144] there is a great gulf fixed. The former belong to the great family of the Melanesians; the latter to the pure stock of the light-skinned race, which, for want of a [171] better name, are called the Malayo-Polynesians. The Fijians knew no higher form of society than that of the family or clan, shut up within its own intrenchments, at perpetual war with its neighbours; no nobler occupation than the devising of treachery against their enemies. But generations of peace had dulled the warlike instincts of the Tongans, and allowed their institutions to take a firm [313] [505] root. Timber for sea-going canoes was scarce in Tonga,

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arms, and return to Tonga as an invader. The only safeguard against this was to set a chief over them who would find an outlet for their restless energy in Fiji itself. Fiji would be, moreover, a vent for the disaffection of a number of his own subjects, who would be glad enough to become exiles with the brilliant prospect of conquest and booty before them. The man lay ready to hand. Maafu, the son of his predecessor, had all the qualities for a leader of such an expedition. He had, besides, a strong claim to the succession, and would be made the figurehead of any rebellion that might be launched against the throne by the heathen party. An expedition was soon fitted out, and early in 1848 Maafu, at the head of a strong and numerous following, set sail for Lakemba. During the next five years he fought his way into the supremacy of the whole of the Lau group, wresting the power from the hands of Tui Nayau, and vesting the lands in his principal followers. Maafu, accustomed to the Tongan system of land tenure, did for Fiji what the British Government has never had the courage to do. He cut the Gordian knot of boundary disputes by dividing out the communal lands into small individual holdings, and securing them to the grantees with a strong hand. He did not, moreover, allow his Fijian subjects to alienate an inch of land to Europeans except on lease. He was a student of history. Asked by what right he divided the lands of the Fijians, he replied sardonically, "I am King William—William the Conqueror!" Having established settled government upon the Tongan model, he turned his eyes westward, and threatened the powerful chieftaincies of Bau, Thakaundrove, and Mathuata. The cession

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175 of Fiji to England reduced him from the position of an
648 independent viceroy to that of a pensioner of the British
721 Government. Deprived of all stimulus to activity, he became demoralised, took to drink, and died in 1880.

175 Affairs stood thus when, in 1853, King George em-
643 barked for Sydney in the mission brig John Wesley.
484 The ship dropped anchor at Bau, and King George met
177 Thakombau and formed the alliance that ultimately
648 brought about the annexation of the group by England. The Fijian chief promised him the canoe Ra Marama, the largest craft afloat, if the king would visit him to bring her away. His power was already waning, and he hoped that his alliance with the Tongan king, whose name was become a terror throughout the group, would cow his enemy Ratu Mara.

175 Sydney made a deep impression upon George's mind.
643 His questions were unending. Nothing escaped him,
484 from the form of legislature to the uniforms of the police-
177 men. One fact, indeed, he lost no time in applying to his
423 own country, and to it is due the present independence of
609 the kingdom of foreign interference. European settlers had already been pressing him to sell land to them, and he had resisted hitherto, feeling that it would give them a status in the country that would sooner or later affect his own independence. He now found that in Sydney land could be granted to a stranger without passing out of the hand of its real owner. He resolved that not a rood of Tongan land should be alienated except upon lease, and he kept his resolution.

175 On his return to Tonga he wrote to Thakombau the
643 letter that induced him to accept the missionaries' teach-
648
797

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ings which he had so long rejected, and he then made his preparations for the visit he had promised. His fleet consisted of thirty sail of double canoes, manned by many hundreds of warriors. He had no intention of joining in any of the local wars, but he knew the necessity of being independent of the protection of his host, whose power, he knew, was not undisputed. From Moturiki he despatched a canoe to Ovalau, commanded by Tavake, one of his own relations. Before the canoe could reach the shore it was fired upon by the natives, who were at the time in alliance with Ratu Mara, Thakombau's revolted brother. Tavake was killed, and the canoe hastened back to the king with the news. The murderer could not be captured without a general attack upon Ovalau and a war with the whites, who sided with Mara, and would not surrender the murderer to any ally of Thakombau. King George therefore resolved to join Thakombau in an attack upon the fortress of Kamba on the mainland, where the enemy were massed in force. Thakombau's fortunes were now at the lowest ebb. If he failed in reducing Kamba, his fate was sealed. His enemies had hemmed him in; his vassals had revolted; even his own town, filled with his own relations, was against him, and in open communication with the enemy. His conversion to Christianity had alienated many of those who still clung to him, and his only hope lay in his Tongan allies.

On the 7th of April 1853 the allied armies landed on the peninsula. A party of Tongans was despatched to reconnoitre the fort, and they had scarcely left the main body when news came that they were engaged with the enemy. The rest of the Tongans advanced to the attack,

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[1853]

dashed against the stockade, and after a few minutes' hand-to-hand fighting the enemy were in full flight, and Kamba, invincible to Fijian methods of warfare, was in flames. None of their Fijian allies appeared until the looting had begun. With the fall of Kamba the heart of Mara's rebellion was crushed, and Thakombau recovered his prestige. Had King George failed him, Bau would have fallen, and the cession of the country to England, which Thakombau brought about, might never have taken place. Before leaving the group, King George made a tour through some of the heathen islands to urge upon the chiefs the adoption of Christianity. Traces of this expedition may still be seen in the wavy seal-like hair of some of the natives of Kandavu and Vatulele, who were born shortly after the departure of the Tongans.

After settling the policy to be adopted by Maafu in Lau, the king set sail for Tonga. He found the Governor of Tahiti, M. du Bouzet, awaiting his return with a treaty ready for his signature, which was so worded as to give the French priests the fullest liberty of action. It was then the policy of the Empire, as it is now of the Republic, to lend the Church the powers of the State abroad while ignoring her claims at home.

To this point, in spite of the bloodshed the introduction of Christianity had cost, the missionaries' influence had been for good; but from the king's return from Fiji they felt their position to be secure, and they began to abuse their power by meddling in the affairs of the State. They were burning with a desire for radical reform: they panted to see their flock enjoying the sweets of constitutional government. Mr St Julian, the King of Hawaii's Mayor

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a visit to a shrine commenced, the ceremony was a presentation to the god, and the priest, as his representative and vehicle, had the precedence. *Kava* is commonly drunk out of coconut-shell cups, but visitors to the gods were wont, apparently, to use cups of folded banana leaf. These are obviously more ceremonious than the coconut-shells, as they were used in 1918 at the important native ceremony in connection with the installation of the present Queen. I obtained possession of several of the cups used on that occasion, but unfortunately banana leaves are not very durable, and they have long been reduced to pieces of dried leaf, amongst which destructive insects have begun their work.

In passing it may be remarked in connection with *kava* that personal experience in Tonga has shown me nothing to justify the epithet "intoxicating" so often applied to this root. *Kava* drinking prolonged far into the night produces a very dull Tongan next morning, but bad hours would be enough in itself to account for at least a good deal of the drowsiness, and if there be a residuum directly caused by the absorption of large quantities of *kava*, as is quite probable, it does not seem rightly stigmatised as intoxication. Excessive tobacco smoking would produce much the same effect, as indeed would excess of almost any kind. Seeing how widely the *kava* is termed intoxicating by competent observers in other groups, I can only suppose that the suggestion which I have heard put forward, that the Tongans drink the root in a more advanced stage of maturity than the peoples of some other islands may be correct, and that the green root has more pronounced effects.

The priest, then, duly primed with the cheerful cup, and with the tangible evidence before him that the god's hunger will be satisfactorily appeased, proceeds to work himself into a condition suitable for the reception of deity. There are living to-day representatives of an old priestly family, of a highly strung nervous disposition, exhibiting in all probability characteristics that caused their forebears to be reverenced as channels of divine communication. A present-day member of the family has distinguished himself by intrepid and successful missionary pioneering in the Solomon Islands.

The worshippers usually resort to the gods for information concerning risky undertakings, such as war, and for deliverance, or protection, from the disasters that commonly afflict our life, such as sickness or bad seasons, caused by drought or hurricane. There seems to have been no special god of war, but for guidance in this important undertaking each tribe referred to its own god, the indications of the god's pleasure being given in some instances at least by movements of the clubs or other war weapons with which the shrine was provided. If the weapon from which the auguries were sought refused to budge that was an indication of the god's desire for peace.

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of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant island, called Pylstarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party of the inhabitants hastily manned a *hamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel. In this incident, we have another example of the causes that have been in operation, leading to the dissemination of the Polynesian race and language throughout the Pacific.

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not great, as to any progress made amongst the heathen population. Indeed, it was never prosecuted with the idea of converting them by physical force. They were rebel offenders against royal law and order; and, when they had submitted to these, the object of the contest was accomplished. Nevertheless, it was overruled for some good purposes, beyond those of a merely political kind. The Mission premises at Hihifo, after a suspension of operations there, extending over eight years, were allowed to be re-occupied by the Rev. Stephen Rabone; who had the happiness of seeing many of the heathen converted under his ministry. Among these were some chiefs of note, whose example went far to shake the remaining confidence of the people in the waning deities and heathen practices of the country.

The peace of Tonga did not last very long. In the beginning of 1840 a war, more fierce and determined than the former, commenced, and continued over a period of eight months. The principal heathen actors in this new attempt to overthrow the authority of Tubou, and to overpower the Christian party, were the chiefs of Hihifo and Bea. The latter directed the brunt of their rage against Nukualofa, and the former against the small fortified settlement of the Christians at Foui, about a mile from the chief town of Hihifo. We gather the following particulars of the origin and progress of this war, from the letters of the Missionaries then resident upon the island, the Rev. Messrs. Charles Tucker, and Stephen Rabone.

On the 14th of January, the heathen, under the chief Ata, of Hihifo, murdered four of the Chris-

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tians belonging to a small fortified village near Nukualofa. These persons were at work in their fields when the heathen fell upon them. They also attacked a little girl, whom they left for dead; but she afterwards recovered from the effects of the wounds inflicted. This horrible act was perpetrated whilst King Josiah Tubou was on a friendly visit to the chief of Hihifo. He had gone thither, in fact, to persuade Ata to become a Christian, and to attempt the creation of a kindlier feeling between the Christian and heathen people there. There can be no doubt that the murder was committed, at that particular time, with the design of preventing the good effects that might have followed these peaceful endeavours. Abraham Vakajiuola, the king's brother, upon hearing what had happened, started for Hihifo, accompanied by a large party of armed men, who brought the king away in safety. Ata and his people of Hihifo and the neighbourhood then flew to arms against the Christians of Foui, and would not be persuaded by the entreaties of the old king to desist. The course adopted by Ata was quickly followed by all the other heathens of Tonga, and a general war upon the Christians was determined on.

The old king felt himself personally unequal to meet the emergency, and, as in the war of 1837, he now again sought for support and succour from his old friend, and tributary sovereign, King George, of Haabai and Haafuluhao. King George arrived in Tonga just in time to thwart the well-concocted plans which the heathen had laid for the destruction of Foui. The two kings sent messengers to Ata, to know if a visit from them would be agreeable, and, if possible, to make up the breach

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797 159 [794] relations, and former companions, forsook Houma, and settled with Hafoka upon this new locality in Fatai. Temporary houses were built, in one of which I preached the first sermon to a congregation of eighteen persons, eight of whom were new converts from heathenism. Before a year had gone by, there were at Fatai thirty-five church members, a good chapel, a school, and a resident native teacher. There was also a fair prospect of a regular accession of converts from Houma.

797 123 763 While this was going on, Vaea, the old Houman chief, died. I visited him during his last sickness, and was with him only a few hours before his decease. I talked to him very faithfully about his soul. As on many former occasions, so now, he expressed his thanks for my visit and advice; but he intimated his unalterable resolve to die as he had lived, a heathen. But, notwithstanding this, he called his children and friends around him, after I had left, for the purpose of urging them to live at peace with their Christian neighbours; and he even advised them all to become Christians themselves. Shortly after he had done this he expired.

565 Another chief was installed with barbaric honours, who assumed the title of his predecessor without any consultation of the wishes of the king. This new ruler became an easy tool in [662] the hands of designing men, both in Houma and Bea, in bidding defiance to the government of the [669] king, and in the attempt which was finally made to overthrow his power altogether.

798 669 712 721 Early in the year 1851, the fortress of Bea was put into a state of warlike defence, without the slightest provocation from any quarter. For

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several months, stores of provision were accumulated, and every opportunity was embraced by the heathen for obtaining supplies of ammunition from foreign vessels touching at the island. Information of these proceedings was sent to the king at Haabai; and the governor, Junia Haumono, requested his majesty's presence in Nukualofa. Accordingly, the king removed his residence from Lifuka to that place in July. This, however, did not alter the conduct of the heathen and Roman Catholic party. The king forbade, and then protested against, the fortification of Bea and Houma; but without avail. He also adopted various conciliatory measures to maintain peace, but in other respects remained perfectly passive and patient. Toward the close of the year, many of the heathen constantly carried arms. Overt acts of rebellion, and seditious speeches, became common. The most defiant language was used toward the Christian loyalists, and we ourselves, the Missionaries, were repeatedly insulted.

Attempts were again made by the Romanists to complicate the affairs of the country; two instances of which we may here relate. One of the sons of the late King of Vavau, Ulukalala, having been banished to Tonga, on account of an act of incendiarism and intended murder, took up his residence at Mua, where he received many attentions from the resident French priest. Towards the close of 1850, a canoe arrived at Mua from Vavau, commanded by an old friend of Matekitoga, (the late king's son,) on which occasion the priest waited upon him with a proposal that he should go off secretly in the canoe of his friend on its return to Haafuluhao; and, further, that he should

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797 inclined to set upon us as we departed from the
798 village; but they could not agree among them-
669 selves what should be done, and so we mercifully escaped all bodily harm.

We then hastened forward to Bea, which place
[72] we found in a state of complete preparation for
[712] war: ditches cleared and deepened; earthworks raised and surmounted by stockades and fencing; gateways strongly secured and fortified; and the people all in commotion. We went straight to the house of the chief Maafu. He received us courteously, and entered readily into conversation; but of course he threw all the responsibility of the war preparations upon King George and the loyal people. It was in vain we reasoned with him; and feeling quite assured that no good could come of further discussion, I begged him to meet the king personally if he really wished a peaceful adjustment of affairs: to which his answer was, that if the king chose to come to him, it would be well; but if not, things must just go on! From this it was clear that peace could not be maintained long, as it was not likely that the king would ever consent to visit Bea, or Houma, considering the various outrages upon his authority, of which these places had been guilty, and after the reported plots for his assassination there, at different periods, during the past three or four years.

On arriving in the evening at Nukualofa, I stated what had passed both to my Missionary brethren and to the king. Mr. Webb is making every effort to calm and restrain our own chiefs and people, as well as to bring the Beans to reason. Indeed, we are all doing everything in our power for that purpose.

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now lies still in death. What news for the brethren when they return from Vavau and Haabai! Certainly, what with the war, and this calamitous visitation, we need Divine aid and counsel. May we also be ready!

Sunday, 21st.—Arrangements having been made for the interment of our dear brother's mortal remains, these were borne to the chapel by a number of the chiefs, who desired, in this way, to testify their high respect, and love, for one whom they had long known as a warm friend and faithful minister. The King and Queen, with young Prince George, were among the chief mourners. The chapel, and chapel hill, were crowded by a multitude of people plunged in sorrow. I endeavoured to address them as well as my feelings would admit, but my own emotions, and those of hundreds before me, were, at times, quite uncontrollable. From the chapel we went to the royal burial ground, where a place had been assigned for the repose of our brother's honoured dust.

Tuesday, 23rd.—Our minds are somewhat diverted, from our more immediate grief, by the dangers which seem to thicken around us. The heathen are reported to be making excursions from their forts, in small bands, for predatory and murderous purposes, into the surrounding country. Indeed, accounts have reached us that blood has, for the first time, been shed in an encounter between the heathen of Houma and the people of Hihifo. One man has been killed, and several have been wounded. The Mission ship is now expected, every day, to return from the other groups of islands, with our brethren; and, as I must visit Hihifo to bring from thence documents, &c., necessary for the

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797 business of our meeting, I shall then hear all particulars of the affray.

Wednesday, 24th.—Having ridden safely to Hihifo, I preached there in the afternoon, after which I met the teachers, and warned them against being carried away, by the war spirit, into a forgetfulness of God, or the loss of their religion.

797 Thursday, 25th.—I returned in safety to Nukua-
798 lofa, although it appears that I narrowly escaped
682 the hands of concealed murderers, who, shortly
669 after I had passed them, barbarously slew one of
721 our female domestics and Christian leaders, under the following circumstances. This good and pious woman had become greatly attached to Mr. and Mrs. Webb, and upon hearing of Mr. Webb's illness and death, she hastened to Nukualofa to render Mrs. Webb any service of which she was capable under her distressing bereavement. Having returned to Hihifo, to visit her husband and to bring several little articles from the Mission House there, in preparation for Mrs. Webb's expected voyage to England in a few days hence, she put herself under my care for the journey, being anxious to return to Nukualofa as soon as possible. We reached Nukunuku, a fortified village, without accident, where she went to visit her husband, who was there with a portion of the Hihifo troops. Here, whilst resting at the head teacher's house, I heard that the roads were considered dangerous, and that a party of armed men would be proceeding to Nukualofa on the following day. Upon hearing this, I sent a message to Caroline and her friends, to say that, under the circumstances, she had better remain at Nukunuku, and go forward with the armed party on the next day. Never supposing

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she would do otherwise, or that her friends would allow her to proceed alone, I then mounted my horse and rode rapidly forward to Nukualofa. A few hours afterwards, whilst I was with the king in his own house, messengers arrived to say that the poor woman had been killed at a very short distance from Nukunuku. It appeared that, upon receiving my message, she laughed at any idea of danger, and her friends could not dissuade her from going forward. They also, very foolishly, permitted her to go alone, thinking that no harm would befall an unarmed woman. We afterwards learnt that, on that afternoon, two heathen rebels, from Houma, had secreted themselves in a dense thicket, close to the roadside, purposing to avenge the death of a Houman who was killed in the skirmish of the twenty-third. Their intention was to waylay and murder the first passer-by. These men were there unknown to me when I passed on horseback. When I appeared in sight, one of them lowered his musket to fire, but the other stopped him by saying, "That is the Missionary, we must not kill him;" and so I mercifully passed on unhurt. Not so, however, poor Caroline. Sometime after I had passed, she was observed coming along the same road, only about a quarter of a mile from Nukunuku. No sooner had she reached the spot, where the two villains lay in ambush, than they sprang upon her, and murdered her instantly by the stroke of an axe, which almost severed her head from her body. The sad end of this truly good woman, and faithful Missionary domestic, was a source of profound grief to us all, and especially to myself, and it seemed to bring the horrors of the war very near

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to our own door. This sad calamity showed that the heathen were determined not to follow the ordinary usages of Tonguese warfare, by respecting the life of unarmed females, but rather to imitate the horrid practices of Fiji; and therefore the king issued an order prohibiting all intercourse between the different parts of the island, excepting through the medium of armed escorts.

Sunday, March 28th.—Just as I left the Mission gate for the purpose of preaching at the Nukualofa chapel, a wounded chief, the queen's near relation, and formerly Governor of Nukualofa, Junia Haumono, was carried past. He was shot through the head. He had been out on patrol duty, and having ventured with his party too near the fort of Bea, the enemy fired, and mortally wounded him. Hearing, when Divine service was over, that he was still living, I went to see him; he was, however, totally unconscious from the first, and was now evidently dying. I could only comfort and pray with his weeping and wailing family. Junia was a good man, and we had no doubt of his safety. But, oh! how sad and distressing such a termination must be to a good man's earthly career.

April 2nd.—I went to Teekiu, intending to meet the king, and to propose that I should visit the heathen rebels of Houma, with his sanction, and with such terms of peace as he might judge expedient, so that, if possible, a peace may be brought about even now. This is the first day in which the troops have marched upon the place in a body, and I therefore thought one more effort toward peace might be attempted. Before, however, I had reached Teekiu, the king and his warriors had left; and while I was still there, heavy firing was heard

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

which the king promised to do. These were the only reasons why the small canoe, manned by about twenty men, was sent on to Ovalau. When these messengers drew near the town where the priests resided, the sail was lowered, and they went towards the shore. They were about to anchor; but in the mean time, a great number of the Ovalauans had assembled on the beach. The Ovalauans had heard of the Tongan fleet at Moturiki, and there was great excitement. Suddenly, four muskets were discharged, and the chief in charge of the canoe, Tavaki, the brother of Benjamin Latuselu, was mortally wounded, while another of the crew was slightly injured. The Tongans, at first, wished to return the fire, and revenge the fall of their chief; but Simon Salo, who was captain of the canoe, would not allow it. The Chief of Levuka had also arrived on the spot, and drove the Ovalau natives away. Then the canoe set sail, and returned to Moturiki, where Tavaki expired. This calamity led King George to order the immediate advance of his fleet to Bau, where he arrived, as stated, on the 24th of March.

Near to Bau is Kamba, a Bau town which had been at enmity with Bau for a length of time. They had lately destroyed, in a revolting manner, about forty persons belonging to another town near to Bau. Mara, the rebel chief, was now residing at Kamba. He had, ever since the peace between Rewa and Bau, been exerting himself to oppose peace, and to fight against Bau. He was now recognised as the leader of the rebellion. When, therefore, King George arrived in Bau, and represented to Thakombau what had happened at Ovalau in the attack made upon his canoe, it was soon

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

discovered that the same Chief, Mara, had presented whale's teeth to many of the chiefs of the Windward Islands, including Ovalau, for the purpose of inducing them to join in a war against the Tonguese of Lakemba. He had also made a special request to the people of Ovalau, that they would fire upon, and destroy, if possible, any Tonguese canoe of King George's fleet that might happen to touch at that island. This was undoubtedly the origin of the murderous attack upon the King's messengers at Levuka.

On Monday the 26th, King George ordered the chiefs of Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, to meet separately, and consider what course they were disposed to follow in reference to Tavaki's death. When they had finished their separate consultation, he called them all together, and received the expression of their opinion. They were unanimous in requesting the king to demand an explanation, and reparation, from Mara, who had instigated the attack at Ovalau. This course being decided upon, the king formally declared to Thakombau the mind of his chiefs; upon which Thakombau said: "The murder that has been perpetrated cannot be justified. Your fleet came with peaceful intentions, but now it is right that we should fight together."

King George then sent a special peace messenger to Mara, requesting him to cease hostility toward his brother Thakombau; but this Mara positively refused to do. He defied the Tongans; said there was no ground near on which they would be able to stand; but that they might possibly maintain their position, if they built a fence on an island near.

Another town also, nearer to Bau than Kamba, became very bold, and its people were eager to

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

commence a conflict with the Tonguese. They inquired why the Tonguese delayed, and said that the firewood they had cut for cooking them was getting rotten.

Before taking any further steps, King George waited upon the Missionaries for their advice, in reference to joining his forces with those of Thakombau. They told him that they could not take upon themselves the responsibility of tendering any advice; and that he and his chiefs, with Thakombau, must act on their own judgment and responsibility. King George then decided to become Thakombau's ally.

Accordingly the Fijian and Tonguese fleets, and fighting men, assembled at a place called Kiuva, and from thence advanced upon Kamba, on Saturday, the 7th of April. Although met by a brisk fire from Mara and his men, the forces of the combined fleet effected a landing. This accomplished, King George headed a large party of his own people, who went to cut down trees for the construction of stockades round the enemy's town and fortifications. While he was absent on this work, some of the remaining Tonguese went towards the enemy's works, and were shot. The Fijians managed to club two or three of them, and dragged their bodies into the town to be cooked. This infuriated the Tonguese, who, notwithstanding the king's absence, rushed upon the place and took it by storm. The first intimation King George had of the fact, was from the smoke of the burning town. The Tonguese took many prisoners, and protected all they could; but the Fijians acted very differently. They destroyed not less than one hundred and fifty persons, including men, women, and even children. The attack and conquest of the

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

we know of, except by Tasman, who in his Chart lays down a small island nearly in the situation I suppose Vaughwaugh to be, that is in about the Latitude of 19° but then this island marked on the chart is very small whereas Vaughwaugh is said to be larger than Tongatabu and with high Mountain[s].[1] I certainly should have gone to this island with Feenough from Happi, had he not then told me it was an inconsiderable island and without a harbour, but Fattafee the King assured me afterwards that it was a large island and not only produced every thing in common with Tongatabu, but had several streams of fresh Water, and that there was as good a harbour as the one in Tongatabu and added if I would go there he would accompany me, and if I did not then find every thing true he had told me I might kill him, I had no doubt but that he told the truth and that Feenough from some Views or other had deceived me.

Hammoah which is also under the dominion of Tongatabu lies two days sail to the North or NW of Vaughwaugh, it is described as being the largest of all the islands, with harbours and every other necessary.[2]

Fidgee lays three days sail from *Tongatabu* in the direction of NWBW, they describe it as a high but very fruitfull island abounding with Hogs, Dogs, Fowls and all the kinds of fruit and roots that are found on any of the others.[3] It is not subject to Tongatabu on the Contrary they frequently make War on each other and it appeared from several circumstances that these people stand in much fear of those of Fidgee, and no wonder sence the one is [a] Humane and peacable Nation, whereas the other is said to be Canibals, brave, Savage and Cruel.[4] That they are Canibals, they themselves do not deny, there were several of them at Tongatabu when we were there of whom we inquired, those I saw was a full shade darker than any of the other islanders,[5] one of them had a large hole in his left ear and so extended

[1] Tasman's small island was Late, lat. 18°50′, long. 174°40′ W; it is small, but rises to 1700 feet, much higher than any part of Vava'u, the highest 'mountain' on which is just over 600 feet. Vava'u, broken up by water, is not as large as Tongatapu, though it looks about the same size on a general map: Tongatapu covers just over 100 square miles, the whole Vava'u 'district' (i.e. other small islands are added in), only 46.

[2] Samoa is north-east, not north-west, of Tonga, distant about 360 miles. The story that it was under the dominion of Tongatapu was perhaps wishful thinking: it was invaded by the Tongans from the end of the twelfth century to about 1250, when they were driven out, with appreciation of valour on both sides. But it seems to have paid some tribute.

[3] '. . . it is somewhat surprizing that Capt Cook did not go in search of it accoarding to His usual practice. His reasons for not doing it I can't account for; as we certainly had time while we were lying at Tongataboo.'—Gilbert.

[4] There is little record of war between Tonga and Fiji. But the prestige of Fiji was high, and adventurous young Tongan chiefs would treat Fiji as a sort of war college, and go across to take part in the tribal fighting there. They also learnt a good deal about canoe-building from the Fijians. The Fijian characteristics noted are all valid enough.

[5] They were not Polynesians, though Fiji was just outside the 'Polynesian triangle'. The 'full shade darker' indicates the Melanesian strain. Inter-traffic between Fiji and Tonga led to a certain mixture of blood, not confined to chiefly lines.

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that it almost reach[ed] his shoulder. The red feathers so often mentioned in this Narrative all come from Fidgee, as also some of their finest Striped and chequered Cloth and a few other articls. The demand for feathers is so great that it frequently occasions quarrels for if the people of Fidgee refuse to Trade, the others rather than go without will fight for them, so at least I have been told. Now I am again with Canibals, let me ask those men who Mentain that the want of food first brings men to this Custom, what it is that induceth them to keep it up in the midst of plenty? As these people have no method of Measuring the distance from island to island but by the time required to sail it in one of their canoes it was necessary to know or at least to form some judgement how far they can sail in a moderate gale in any given time. With this View I went on board one of them when under sail, and by several tryals with the log found she went Seven knots or mile in an hour, close hauled in a gentle gale. From this I judge they will sail on a medium with such breezes as generally blow in their sea about seven or eight miles in an hour; but the length of each day is not to be reckoned at twenty four hours, for when they speak of one days sail, they mean no more than from the evening to the Morning of the same day,[1] that is ten or twelve hours at most. And two days sail signifies, from the Morning of the first day to the evening of the second and so for any other number of days. In these Navigations the Sun is their guide by day and the Stars by night, when these are obscured they have recourse to the points from whence the Wind and waves of the Sea come upon the Vessel. If during the obscuration both the wind and the waves shift (which seldom happens at any other time within the limets of the trade wind) they are then bewildered, frequently miss their intended port and are never heard of more.

Of all the harbours and Anchoring places I have met with about these islands that of Tongatabu is by far the best, not only from its great security but for capacity and the goodness of its bottom. The risk we ran in entering it from the North ought to be a sufficient caution never to attempt that passage again with a Ship of burden, sence the other is so much more easy and safe. To sail into it by this eastern Channel, steer in for the NE point of the island and keep a long the North Shore with the sm[l] isles on your Starb[d] till you are the length of the east point of the entrance into the Lagoon, then edge over for the reef of the isles and follow its direction and it will Con-

[1] Cook has evidently slipped here, and intended 'from the morning to the evening': the correction was thus made in *Voyage*, I, p. 376. The Log, Adm 55/111, has a marginal pencil note in an eighteenth-century hand, 'should be vice versa'.

333 of a sting-ray fited upon a piece of wood, served as a polisher; for
[412] small work they make use of Sharks teeth and Shells.
[237] *Tillage* The Instruments for *Tillage*, in which they may be said
to vie with Europeans, are nothing more than Pickets, or
241 Stakes of different lengths according to the depth they have to dig,
412 they are flaten'd and sharpened to a edge at one end and the largest
have a short piece fastened transversely a little above it, for pressing
it into the ground with the foot. With these, though they are not
more than from two to four inches broad, they dig and plant ground
of many acres in extent.

6 721 *War and Weapons* The art of War is not unknown to these people
though perhaps they practise it as little as any
nation upon earth; for except their occasional disputes with Fidge[e],
713 before mentioned, they seem to have no Enimies round them. Their
411 Weapons are clubs of defferent sorts, in the making, or rather Orna-
menting of which they spend much time, Spears and darts; they have
531 bows and arrows but they seemed to be designed only for amuse-
ment and not as a Military weapon.[1]

642 *Goverment* Of the nature of Goverment we know no more than the
general out line, a subordination is established among
them that resembles the feudal system; but of its subdivisions of the
Constituent parts and in what manner connected to form one body
[643] politic I confess my self totally ignorant.[2] Some have told us that the
[565] power of the King is unlimited and that the life and property of the
[421] Subject is at his disposal; but the few circumstances that fell under
our observation, made more against than for a dispotic Goverment
though we saw instances of both, and some that clearly shewed that
643 the lower order of people have no property but at the will of their
634 masters.[3] On the other hand *Marriwaggy*, Old *Toobough* and *Feenough*,
acted each like petty Sovereigns and frequently thwarted the meas-

[223] [1] They shot pigeons with them, as an aristocratic diversion.
[565] [2] Not without reason, considering the complicated nature of the Tongan power-
[517] structure. I do not annotate some of the sentences that follow, in which Cook repeats statements already annotated, however erroneous they may be.
[3] '. . . we saw instances, where present Passion seem'd to be their only guide, & where had they killd the Objects of their wrath they woud have been amenable neither to justice nor to a superior; but as the common people by no means appear dispirtd or any way broken by harsh or cruel treatment, It seems pretty certain that the mildness & benevolence of their masters, insures them against an ill use of their Authority. . . . Upon the whole the Friendly Islanders have the appearance of enjoying most of the Advantages aris'ing from a regular Government, few even surpass them in the great order they observe on all Occasions, in their ready compliance with the Commands of their Superiors, & the great harmony which subsists amongst all ranks; & none in the general sweetness & mildness of their tempers. We see many things worthy of imitation, few of blame; wou'd to God they cou'd say the same of us, but we have left them an incurable disorder which will for ever embitter their quiet & happy lives, & make them curse the hour they ever saw us.'—King.

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tumour which affects the legs & arms & increases them to an extraordinary size in their whole length: and the other a tumour of the same sort in the testicles which sometimes exceed the size of the two fists,[1] but in other respects they may be consider'd as uncommonly healthy, not a single person having been seen confin'd to the house by sickness of any kind. On the contrary their strength and activity are every way answerable to their muscular appearance, which they exert both in their usual employments and diversions in such a manner that there can be no doubt but they are as yet little debilitated by numerous diseases, the consequences of indolence and an unnatural method of life. The gracefull air and firm step with which these people walk are not the least obvious proof of their personal perfections. They consider this as a thing so natural or so necessary to be acquird that nothing us'd to excite their laughter sooner than to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees or other things.

Their countenances express very remarkably the abundant mildness & good nature which they posess, and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. They would indeed rather perswade one to believe that they had been bred up under the severest restrictions to acquire an aspect so settled, and such a command of their passions as well as steadiness in conduct, but they are at the same time frank, chearfull and good humour'd, though sometimes in the presence of their chiefs they put on a degree of gravity and such a serious air that becomes stiff or aukward & has an appearance of reserve. Their peacable disposition is sufficiently evinc'd from the friendly reception all strangers have met with who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas,[2] they have never appear'd in the smallest degree hostile but on the contrary like the most civiliz'd nations have courted an intercourse with them by bartering, the only medium which unites all nations in a sort of friendship. In short they seem posess'd of many of the most excellent qualitys that adorn the human mind as Industry, Ingenuity, Perseverance, affability and perhaps

[1] These two other 'diseases' are one: they are both aspects of the elephantiasis which results from the mosquito-carried filariasis, which is the real disease. The Tongans used surgery to treat the scrotal swelling—Mariner, II, pp. ci–cii; they did nothing about the legs or arms, according to him, but Samwell speaks of 'the Scars of large Gashes . . . seemingly with the Intention of letting out the Contents of the Tumor'.—p. 1045 below.

[2] Mariner's account (II, pp. 71–2) of the contemplated attack on the ships appears to give the lie to this; but he has the later statement, II, p. 198, 'In respect to the intended assassination of Captain Cook, every native of Tonga would have considered it, if it had taken place, a very base act, for which probably the gods would have punished them.'

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idiot, nor is his sister of a common disposition.[1] He is the very person who was seen in 1773 when Captn Cook visited the island, and whose strange behaviour could not then be accounted for though it was evident his rank was great.

From the number of weapons found amongst them there is little doubt but they sometimes engage in war, though in all probability it is mostly of the defensive kind, as the greatest part of the islands they know have been conquerd by them and now form part of their dominion, so that the only enemys they have to contend with are those of Feejee which seems but seldom. This is the more probable as from the time of the islands being first discoverd they have never appear'd arm'd when they came to visit strangers, and when they brought their weapons it was only to traffic with them—a circumstance seldom found amongst Indian nations perpetually at war, who always part with their arms rather reluctantly; yet when they are engag'd it is scarcely to be doubted but they are brave though their disposition seems to incline them at all times to peace, the arts of which they are more industrious to cultivate than those of war, and from the examples we have seen it may be judg'd they are dexterous enough at using their weapons. Their good sense however informs them that they are unable to cope with those whose art has furnish'd them with superior arms, which seems to be the case with respect to us without having ever put it to the test, for we must not ascribe their fear of us at any time to a pusillanimity or cowardice which we have no reason to charge them with. On the contrary they seem not insensible that without our arms and with equal numbers they would over match us, but the dread annex'd to the idea of the effect of fire arms or indeed other missile weapons staggers them; for they are in no less fear of the inhabitants of Feejee, who they say fight them with bows and arrows.

Their Language has the greatest affinity imaginable to that of New Zeeland, of Wateeoo, and Mang'ya and consequently to that of ÔTaheite and its neighbouring isles. There are also many words the same as in the vocabulary of Cocos island at the end of Dalrymples collection of voyages. The mode of pronounciation differs indeed considerably in many cases from that of the first place, but a great number of words are exactly the same. It is sufficiently copious and we have had many proofs of its being easily adapted to all musical

[1] On the two preceding sentences see (to avoid too much repetition) Cook, p. 178, n. 6 above. It was quite wrong to say that the Tu'i Lakepa was 'a person of no rank in his own country'. The succession of the Tu'i Tongas was certainly in general from father to son. Anderson was right in guessing that rank was a separate thing from power; but wrong in thinking that in the context 'madness' might be relevant.

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appears probable the inhabitants of Tonga think them worthy of imitation in many respects. I have subjoind three words which seem to differ much from those of the other isles.

Tama'lôá	A chief man
Tamaĕ'ty	A chief woman
Solle	A common man

'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their authority and they are themselves oblig'd in some measure to acknowledge the superiority of Feejee, a circumstance they always express by bending the body forwards and covering the face with their hands. This place is compos'd of several high isles which bear about w from Hapaee and is much larger than Tonga. Its distance may be guess'd by their time of sailing to it which with a good wind is three days but with an indifferent one five or more. The inhabitants sometimes visit Tonga and the other isles in a hostile manner and carry off their hogs and other things, where they are much dreaded from their fighting with Bows and Slings but more so from the unnatural practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle. This practice is destested very much by the people of Tonga (who mention something of an Island to the eastward where the same custom prevails) and who cultivate the friendship of those of Feejee apparently out of fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish with them on their own ground and carry off red feathers as their Booty, which are found in great plenty there and highly valued at Tonga. When they are at peace the intercourse between the islands seems pretty frequent, though they have been doubtless but lately known to each other, or we may suppose that Tonga and the other isles would have before this been supplied with a breed of dogs which abound at Feejee, and though now at Tonga were not to be seen when Captn Cook was here in 1773. Contrary to the practice at Tonga the women of this place are punctur'd but not the men. We have seen several of both sexes at Tonga who are generally smaller than the natives of that place, are of a deeper and more shining black and have the hair frizzled. The Ears of some are slit and the lobe hangs down almost to the shoulder, like the inhabitants of some other isles in the south sea. They are much respected here, not only perhaps as a powerfull people but from their ingenuity, as they seem even to exceed the inhabitants of Tonga in that respect if we might judge from several things that come from that place: as their clubs and spears which are carv'd in a very masterly manner, their cloth which is beautifully checquer'd, variegated matts, their earthen pots, and

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

Among their Amusements has been omitted the following which the Children use, the first is keeping four balls up for a long time like some of the slight of hand gentry do in England. The other is darting a Stick with an oval head a great way which they do by striking it first against the ground, it then rebounds to a considerable distance, this is a play very common among the young boys.

During our Stay among them they did not seem to have any quarrels on their Hands either foreign or domestic, however they informed us that a little time before our Arrival they had been at War with the People of an Island called Fidgee which they said lay to the WNW at the distance of five day's Sail which may be ab^{t} 200 Leagues. By their Account this Island of Fidgee is much larger than Tongataboo, & the People numerous & as they say Cannibals. However at this [time] there were some of the Natives of that Island at Tongataboo, & it is probable that the two Isles carry on a Trade in time of peace. We saw some pieces of Cloth very curious & prettily painted which they told us came from Fidgee & that none like it was made at Tongataboo.

It is probable that the white people above described are the same with those mentioned in the Spanish Voyages published by Dalrymple & which he supposes were the Inhabitants of the Southern Continent which the Spaniards were in search of. The nonexistence of which was proved so incontestibly by Capt^{n} Cook in his last Voyage that it must put a stop to any further Cavils & idle suppositions from the Editor of those Voyages.

Superiority of Birth seems to be held in high Estimation at these Islands, The natives priding themselves much on being related to the Chiefs whom they immagine to be the greatest Potentates upon Earth, or indeed in the Skies; for in speaking of those of the highest Rank they always told us that they were 'Agee la langee agee lalo fonooa',[1] which signifies Kings of the Skies above & of the Earth below, at the same time pointing with their Fingers to the Sky & the Earth. And as the Chiefs were held in great Veneration by all Ranks, Capt^{n} Cook always treated them with due Respect & was careful that no Insult was offered to them by any of our people. Fatafee the Brother of Powlohow[2] being on board the Resolution one day & seeing a Girl whom it seems he knew with one of the Sailors between Decks, wanted to take her away from him, but the Man having engaged her for the Night & delivered the Payment to her friends, refused to part with her and the Chief insisting upon it & going to

[1] *'Eiki ko langi 'oiki lalo fonua.* The translation Samwell gives is correct, if one accepts 'kings'.

[2] Fatafehi was the family name: this was a half-brother, Ma'ulupekotofa.

[179 cont.]

103 6. Tasman calls it Kaybay in his map.

133 thirteen low islands, each of which the natives named to us.
175

[180] We hastened ashore after breakfast, to resume our enquiries.
122 We soon left the beach, where the natives were again assembled in great
197 numbers of both sexes. A most beautiful kind of lily (crinum asiaticum)
126 was the first plant which we met with and several others, not less valuable,
175 were collected soon after. We came to the watering-place, which was a
312 pond about a hundred or a hundred and fifty yards long, and fifty broad;
175 it contained stagnant water which was somewhat tainted with a brackish
taste, and might perhaps have subterraneous communications with the
salt lagoon, which in one place adjoined to it. Lieutenant Clerke, who
648 superintended the waters, told us that his musket had been nimbly snatched
175 away by one of the natives, who instantly ran off with it. We advanced
137 to the salt lagoon, and botanized, among the spacious man-groves which
175 surrounded it. These trees occupy a vast space of ground, and grow more
[126] and more intricate by age. Their seeds do not drop off, but shoot down
from the top of the tree, till they reach the ground, where they take root,
648 and spread new branches. Whilst we were here, we heard three great guns
175 fired; but the sound being broken by many intervening objects, we suspected
that they were only muskets overcharged as usual, by some young gentlemen
609 on a shooting party. We left the lake soon after, and passed through a
175 plantation, where the natives bowed to us very kindly, and invited us to
648 sit down amongst them. [181] We were desirous of making the most of our
721 time, and therefore soon left them, and returned to the fresh-water pond.
175 Having fired a musket at some wild-ducks, which were in great plenty, we
were called to by Mr. Gilbert, the master, who told us that a volley of
small arms, and three cannon had been fired to alarm and bring us back,

[181 cont.]

648 because a fray had happened between the natives and our people. We joined
721 him in a few minutes, and found with him the captain, and a file of marines,
175
519 together with two natives, who sat on their hams, and from time to time pronounced the word wóa, which signifies "friend." We supposed that the theft of Mr. Clerke's musket had given occasion to this disturbance; but this was too trifling a circumstance to be resented. The cooper, in mending the water-cask, was not sufficiently attentive to his adze, and one of the natives had snatched it up, and conveyed it away. The captain, in order to recover this valuable instrument, of which however there were no less than a dozen in the ship, ordered his people to seize several large double canoes, which had probably arrived from different adjacent islands. They performed his command, and Mr. Clerke's gun was brought back by the astonished
648 natives. But this was not sufficient, and another canoe was seized. A
721 native, who stood upon it, defended his property, which he had forfeited
164 by no offence, and took up a spear, which he seemed resolved to employ
175 with good effect. Captain Cook levelled his musket at him, and bid him lay [182] down his arms. He refused, and received a load of shot through his wrist and thigh, at the distance of eight or nine yards, which immediately
648 brought him to the ground. The volley was now fired, and a boat sent off
721 to the ship, where three cannon, directed against the highest point of the
175 island, were fired off one after another. It was thought that the natives would now have left us; but a great part still remained on the beach conscious of their innocence, and some canoes continued to ply about the
648 ship. The behaviour of one of the natives upon this occasion was so
721 remarkably stoical, that our people could not help taking notice of it.
439
497 He had a small canoe in which he always met the other canoes before they
175 reached the ship, took out what he liked, and paid their owners, a certain

?[sic! --- Analyst]

[182 cont.]

648 small price in European goods, which he had before obtained by
721 barter. With his new cargo he returned to the ship, and always made
439 a considerable profit upon his bargain. As he never failed to visit
457 each canoe, our sailors called him a Custom-house officer. He was
175 lying close to the ship, bailing the water out of his canoe, when the guns were discharged not two yards over his head. Notwithstanding the extraordinary concussion at so short a distance, he never once looked up, but continued to bale, and afterwards to trade as if nothing had happened.

We had not long rejoined the captain and his party when the unlucky
648 adze was brought back, which had [183] been the occasion of so much
175 mischief. A middle-aged woman, who seemed to have great authority, had dispatched some of the people after it, and they returned at the same time a cartridge-box, and Mr. Patton's fowling-piece, which
[482] appeared to have been concealed under water. The wounded man was brought to us on a piece of wood carried by men. He seemed almost without sensation; and was set on the ground, whilst the natives gradually returned, and began to take courage. The women in particular, were very desirous of restoring the general tranquility, and their timid looks seemed to charge the behaviour of the strangers with cruelty. They seated themselves on a fine green turf, in a group of fifty or more together, and invited several of us to sit by them. Each of them had some shaddocks, which they broke in pieces, and distributed
142 to us with every mark of kindness and peace. Mr. Patton's friend
175 was one of the foremost, and indeed claimed the first rank among the beauties of those islands. Her nature was graceful, and her form exquisitely proportioned. Her features were more regular than any I

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Gradually the excitement and the material gain of these expeditions, as well as the prestige and honour given to them, particularly by the younger generations of Tonga, made these exploits an integral part of the upbringing of young chiefs. Hence the rapid increase in the volume of traffic between Tonga and Fiji during the eighteenth century.

This intercourse had far-reaching effects on political affairs in Tonga. On their return home the young warriors did not hesitate to show off the new habits they had acquired in Fiji. Cannibalism and strangling of widows were introduced and became more and more common; 'Warriors who had blooded their clubs in Fiji fretted at the inglorious routine of peace. Intrigue, treachery, murder, and rebellion resulted' (Derrick 1963:122-3). When Captain Cook first visited Tonga in 1773 he reported that, although he saw arms, the people went about unarmed and appeared peaceful. On his third voyage, in 1777, he named Lifuka, the main island of the Ha'apai group, Friendly Island. He was entirely unaware that on the very same occasion there was a plot to assassinate him and his crew, and that they were only saved by a disagreement among their chiefly hosts as to whether to carry out the plot by day or by night (Martin 1827, II:71-2).

At the turn of the seventeenth century unrest began to appear, particularly in Vava'u. Vuna, a brother of the then Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataele Ha'amea, went to Vava'u in order to quell the unrest and to restore allegiance to his brother. He was accompanied by one of his nephews, Tuituiohu, son of Mataele Ha'amea, who went as Vuna's *le'o kava* (guardian of *kava* protocol), and by some of the lesser chiefs of the *ha'a* Havea. However, after staying in Vava'u for a while, Vuna abandoned his original intentions and decided to extend his own powers, pronouncing himself Tu'i Vava'u (ruler of Vava'u) and establishing his own court at Pangaimotu, an island off Vava'u (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote).

Meanwhile, the struggle for power continued on Tongatapu. One of Mataele Ha'amea's sons, Ma'afu'otuitonga, succeeded to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu. He had three sons, Tupoulahi, Maealiuaki and Mumui, all of whom succeeded to the position. However, when Maealiuaki's son, Mulikiha'amea, decided to

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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for their lives, without provisions. On one of the islands off Tongatapu they met Fīnau and his warriors. Joining him, they all sailed for Tongatapu and landed at Hahake. There they observed the shocking and sickening aftermath of the ravages perpetrated by the royalists. They left Hahake to attack the royalists at Hihifo and landed at Ma'ofanga, where they were joined by the people of that place, and then marched on to Hihifo.

Fīnau 'Ulukālala found the royalists well fortified and firmly entrenched, and, in the fierce battle which ensued, he was beaten and driven back from Hihifo. He was then compelled to return to Ha'apai, and for several years he made no further attempt to invade Tongatapu on a large scale, contenting himself with a series of surprise attacks, particularly at night. In these attacks, a few unsuspecting victims would be killed, property hurriedly destroyed, and the raiders would then quickly escape to their canoes, and sail back to Ha'apai. It was not until the capture of the *Port-au-Prince* in 1806, which brought an unexpected supply of guns as well as the services of some of the crew of the ill-fated vessel, that another major onslaught was made on Tongatapu.

Misery on Tongatapu was further intensified by the feuds between the chiefs of its various districts who struggled for power or tried to assert their independence. When Vaha'i died, two prominent figures emerged, Teukava of Kolovai and Tākai of Pea, both of whom had been closely associated with Vaha'i. The latter had appointed Teukava as his successor at Polonga, Hihifo, and ordered Tākai to build a fortress at Pea. Soon feuding broke out between Tākai and Teukava.

In the meantime, Tupoumālohi, Tuku'aho's younger brother, returned from Fiji where he had been for several years participating in the fighting of the Fijian chiefs. He built Nuku'alofa as his fortress and on the death of Ma'afu'olimuloa he succeeded to the position of Tu'i kanokupolu. He found, however, that he had very little influence among the chiefs, who wanted independence. The threat from Tākai and his followers in the nearby fortress of Pea compelled him to leave Nuku'alofa and join forces with Teukava. Teukava was, however, defeated, killed and eaten by a Fijian of Tākai's party at Te'ekiu. Tupoumālohi then left Tongatapu for Ha'apai where he stayed with his nephew, Tupouto'a, son of

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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Tuku'aho, and half-brother of 'Ulukālala. He remained there until his death, but before he died he voluntarily gave up the position of *hau* in favour of his nephew, Tupouto'a.

This period of political turbulence was aggravated by the contact with Europeans, which had an immense influence on the affairs of Tonga. European goods, especially those made of iron, were highly prized by the Tongans, particularly the chiefs, who would ultimately obtain anything bought or stolen by the commoners. The appearance of the huge European vessels with their powerful guns, the display of their deadly pistols and other weapons, arrested the imagination of the Tongans, making their traditional fighting weapons appear clumsy and inefficient. The chiefs were quick to realise the advantages which these superior weapons could give them in their struggle for power, while the possession of European goods such as beads for ornaments, clothing and steel tools, brought much social prestige. Consequently, the chiefs were prepared to use every available means to obtain them.

The more the Tongans obtained European goods the more they desired them and determined to use drastic measures to get them. In 1802, the Hihifo people of Tongatapu, with the help of some sailors living among them, captured the American vessel, *Duke of Portland*. Most of the crew were killed and a European woman named Eliza Mosey was taken by the chief Teukava of Kolovai as one of his wives. Later, in 1804, Eliza managed to escape by swimming to the *Union*, which had called at Tonga and whose captain and some of the crew had been killed when they went ashore. Eliza Mosey informed the mate of these happenings and the rest of the crew escaped (Martin 1827, I:282; Blanc 1934:30).

Two years later, the *Port-au-Prince* arrived at Lifuka and was captured by Fīnau 'Ulukālala II and his people. They murdered the captain and most of the crew, but some were spared to show Fīnau and his men how to use the guns, and the young ship's clerk, William Mariner, was adopted by Fīnau as his son. Even before this time there was a growing interest among the chiefs in having Europeans living with them, not only to assist in warfare but

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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in the islands of Tonga. Ships' deserters as well as sailors abandoned on account of illness or misadventure also made their homes among the Tongans.

These men had in common the fact that none of them sought to interfere with the way of life of the inhabitants of Tonga (see H. E. Maude 1964:293). They were quite content to live among the Tongans and to accept their way of life. They had good reason to feel contented, for many of them were devoid of any social standing in their homeland. In Tonga, on the other hand, they lived among the chiefs, some of them being accepted as close friends and advisers, particularly in time of war, and they were accorded all the honours and respect normally shown to the nobility.

Most of these men possessed special skills, such as the working of metals, which were of great value to the chiefs, since iron tools were highly prized by the Tongans. Captain Peter Dillon, in 1827, found an American living with a chief in 'Eua. Dillon was told by him that he had been employed in repairing firearms, fish hooks and the like, and that he was kept amply supplied with produce of the country and was highly esteemed by the natives. The chief had shown him great kindness and had honoured him with his daughter for a wife (Dillon 1829, I:262-3).

Europeans were regarded as extremely valuable additions to a chief's household, and their mere presence became a source of social prestige. Consequently, they were keenly sought after and, at times, there were disastrous consequences, as can be seen in the following incident as told to Peter Dillon by John Singleton, one of the survivors of the *Port-au-Prince*:

> the chiefs of these islands [he said] pride themselves much on having Europeans resident among them; a feeling that gave rise to the following unfortunate affray:— The morning on which the ship [*Astrolabe*] was about to sail, two of the crew, unperceived by the sentinels, had leaped from the side into a large canoe, where they were concealed by the natives. The canoe immediately pulled for the shore, and shortly after a boat, with eight or ten men and an officer, put off for Pangimodoo to procure sand; but the canoe reached the shore first. The chief of this canoe having acquainted those on shore that he had two Europeans with him, the other chiefs became jealous, and said, 'we must have some white men to live with us as well as you.'

79: Lātūkefu H,I,M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
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> The ship's boat had by this time reached the land, and the men on board being unarmed, were seized by the natives and taken on shore. (Dillon 1829, I:267)

Had Captain Dumont d'Urville been aware of the real reason for this seizure of his men, he might have been more lenient in his handling of this unfortunate affair. As it happened, two armed boats were sent from the ship to search for the men. The search party burnt down several houses and wounded two Tongans, who later died, and one of their men was killed, without finding any trace of the two men. Finally, the captain decided to keep the village of Ma'ofanga under fire for two days, with the result that, on the third day, the men re-embarked without having received any injury.

On the whole, relations between the beachcombers and the Tongans were harmonious and they lived quite amicably together before the arrival of the missionaries. The beachcombers helped to explain to the Tongans the various aspects of the white man's culture—his customs, economic system, technology, literacy and even religion (H. E. Maude 1968:163). Some were instrumental in paving the way for the work of the missionaries, and others helped the missionaries in their work. Lawry used Singleton of the *Port-au-Prince* as an interpreter. Before Thomas and Hutchinson arrived in 1826, Lolohea, one of the first converts in Tonga, and his brother who lived in Vava'u at the time 'were impressed by a few words about Jehovah, spoken to them by a sailor who lived in that island' (Farmer 1855:179). King George persuaded a sailor who lived under his protection in Ha'apai to show him and his people how to write and conduct prayers to the Christian God, and in 1827 'Ulukālala Tuapasi of Vava'u persuaded a sailor to write a letter for him to the missionaries in Tongatapu asking for a missionary of his own (Turner 1872:102-3).

The arrival and continued presence of the missionaries in Tonga was not, however, welcomed by many of these men. They feared that the missionaries would expose them to their chiefly hosts and thereby undermine their prestige and newly found privileges, and destroy the Polynesian way of life which they favoured and wanted to preserve. Consequently, some made every

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> Some traders not satisfied with 2 or 3 hundred percent on their goods and the difference in the value of oil (here £12—in Sydney £30 or more) have introduced ardent spirits as article of trade. We expect commerce will follow in the wake of Christianity, but when it attempts to unchristianize an infant Christian people we deplore it. (Whewell to General Secretary, Aug. 1856, WMMSA 1852-79, item 170)

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Another major sorce of discord between the traders and the missionaries was over the question of women. John Thomas (Journal, 19 Mar. 1831) recorded the following episode:

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> The captain that was here last has left an ill savour behind him . . . He tried several persons in order to get a woman for his base purposes, but I am happy to know that he did not succeed. One chief viz Tuihaatuho told him he could not let him have one and when he (the Cap.) applied to Taufaahau he told him he could not do it, that he feared Jehovah and also he met in Society and wished to do as I taught him. These things would have a very bad tendency upon the infant cause here.

Another example of the clashes over women was reported by Rabone (Journal, 2 Aug. 1836) who commented upon certain incidents in his journal which 'made us ashamed of the name of Englishmen'. It appears that a Captain Brind of the trading vessel *Tower Castle* called at the island of Rotuma and, as several Rotumans wished to go to Tonga, he offered to take them. On leaving the island he took one female as his mistress, but after being at sea four days, in a fit of drunkenness he threw her overboard. His crew rescued the woman, without his knowledge, and stowed her away. Meanwhile he had taken another female, a young virgin, who was on her way to Tonga to marry a young chief. These actions grieved both the Rotumans and the Tongans very deeply. On a later voyage, he returned to Tonga and invited some Tongans and Rotumans on board, among whom was the young chief, who objected to his wife going. A fight broke out between one of Brind's men and the chief in which the young chief was killed. When this became known to the Tongans, a few hours later, they took the murderer and killed him.

[721]

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The missionaries believed that the conduct of these captains was responsible for some of the 'evil doings' of the natives, of which they later complained when they returned to their home ports (P. Turner 1831-38:75).

175 361 311 Each man lived in his own garden, the allotments being separated by reed fences (Wood, 1945:81-19). After Tasman's visit, a period of 130 years elapsed before further European contact was made by Cook on his second voyage in 1773. Cook also recorded that Tongatapu was extensively cultivated with "the houses being surrounded by perfumed flowers and set in the middle of food-gardens, the planting being systematic and in rows . . . . . Good roads, arched over with trees, went in all directions. There were no villages." (Wood, 1945:18-19). 175 361 The existence of dispersed and peaceful settlements is attested to by Tongan tradition which "speaks 173 of a time when it was possible to communicate from one end 203 of Tongatapu to the other by calling from one farm to another, a state of affairs described as fanogonongo tokoto (making a proclamation while reclining)" (Gifford, 1929:4-5).

174 642 643 During this period of dispersed settlement, a strong line of high chiefs established their authority over Tongatapu, as well as the Ha'apai and Vava'u groups. This period of strong central authority began with the first Tu'i Tonga, 'Aho'eitu, around 950 A.D. (based on geneological evidence). 175 721 181 The line of high chiefs, starting with 'Aho'eitu and including three major lines of royalty (the Tui'i Tonga, Tu' Ha'atakalaua, and Tu'i Kanokupolu lines), provided for a peaceful environment until the very end of the eighteenth [643] century (Wood, 1945:5-18). According to Tasman, in 1643, "we saw with these people no weapons, so that all was peace

175 721 181 and friendship" (Sharp, 1968:56). When Cook arrived in Tongatapu, although some weapons were observed, "the people went about unarmed and seemed very peaceful"(Wood,1945:19).

174 648 Tongans maintained a tradition, probably dating from the time of first settlement, of voyaging to Fiji and Samoa and possibly to the Tokelaus, Rotuma,and the Ellice Islands. The Tongans were reputedly the main voyagers in the Fiji-Tonga-Samoa area and maintained especially close ties with 174 439 the warlike Fijians to the east (Sharp, 1964:27-29). At first these ties involved the bartering of Tongan goods, such as whale's teeth, the tail of the sting ray (used for pointing spears), tapa cloth, sail mats, and inlaid clubs for Fijian goods,such as hardwood for building canoes,bowls, pottery, red parakeet feathers(which were exchanged in Samoa where they were used in decorating fine mats), and sandalwood (Thompson, 1940:29; Derrick, 1946:30 and Latukefu,1967: 175 648 721 59-60). In the latter half of the nineteenth century, A however, Tongans began taking part in Fijian wars, helping certain chiefs who rewarded them with the superior Fijian canoes 175 721 669 and weapons. These latter visits had "most evil effects on Tonga" and probably played a great part in bringing to a close the long period of peace and provided the impetus for the brief period of civil disorder or "Dark Ages" that was to follow (Wood, 1945:25).

Although an atmosphere of peace lasted through Cook's last visit in 1777 and d'Entrecasteaux and Labillardiere's

A[Author undoubtedly means the eighteenth century--Analyst.]

175 visit in 1793, a period of civil war between various high
669 chiefs throughout the archipelago prevailed from 1799 until
721 1852 (Wood, 1945:29-54).

797 The "missionary period", which essentially began with
669 the arrival of the first successful missionaries (John
721 Thomas, John Hutchinson and two Tahitians, Habe and Tafeta,
in 1825), overlapped the latter part of this period of civil
721 disorder. Between 1826 and 1852, the warfare in Tonga in-
669 volved struggles for political and religious influence bet-
798 ween heathen (often aided by Catholics) and Protestant
795 Christian factions. The final war in 1852, established the
642 dominance of the Tu'i Kanokupolu line and of Christianity
643 over the entire archipelago. When Tu'i Laufilitonga(of the
[797] Tu'i Kanokupolu line) died in 1865, George Tupou I became
the political, military, and religious ruler of Tonga.
642 According to Maude (1965:35), the political stability crea-
648 ted by the unification of the Kingdom under Tupou I, was
182 probably the main reason Tonga was able to retain its inde-
pendent status when other Pacific Islands Kingdoms were
falling under the sovereignty of European powers.

797 During Tupou I's reign, the Wesleyan Mission maintained
642 considerable influence in Tongan politics. As early as 1839,
[643] Tupou I (then known as Taufa'ahau) had drawn up a code of
laws for Vava'u. This code was revised in 1852 to pertain
to the entire Tongan archipelago and further developed, with
assistance of the Revernd Shirley Baker, into the "Consti-

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[1802-1824]

Chapter III.

"A NATION OF WRECKERS"

Far from being a nation of friendly islanders, the Tongans of this period had become "a nation of wreckers".[1] The tools and other treasures from the outside world which the Tongans stole from strangers on their shores only whetted their appetites for ships and their contents, including the guns which would give victory in the Civil War. Tonga soon gained a new and evil reputation for cunning attacks on vessels, such as the following:— 175 181 175 177

Duke of Portland, a Boston whaler, which called at Tongatapu in June 1802. A white man helped the Tongans to attack the ship after the usual professions of friendship had been given by a chief. Many of the crew were killed and their bodies thrown overboard. A woman, Elizabeth Morey, was taken to be the servant of the chief's wife. After the cargo had been taken ashore the four remaining crewmen surprisingly drove off the natives, killed the treacherous white man, and took the ship out to sea. 609

Union, another American ship, which reached Tongatapu on 30 September 1804. Again Tongans swarmed over the ship but were ordered off. In one of the canoes surrounding the ship was the white woman, Elizabeth Morey, who made signs to the crew not to accept an invitation to go ashore. She then swam to the ship under cover of the sailors' muskets. Those sailors who had gone ashore were murdered and eaten.

Port-au-Prince, in 1806, with 26 of its crew killed and 34 spared to work the captured guns.

Mercury, 1809, which would have been captured but for the warning given by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince* and was still living in Tonga.

Supply, at 'Eua in 1822, attacked after a boat had gone ashore to get water. Three of the ship's company and several Tongans were killed in the fight on board.

Elizabeth, at Vava'u in 1823, which escaped after an attack led by an Englishman who had been on *Port-au-Prince*; four of the crew were killed.

In some instances sailors were guilty of shameful acts against the people on shore. Reprisals could then be expected against the next ship that called. *Rambler*, at Vava'u in 1824, was one that suffered because of the misconduct of a previous vessel; its captain was among those killed. Other ships would have been attacked but for the watchfulness of their captains.

The attack on *Port-au-Prince* was the most famous incident, not only because of the effect of the guns that Finau 'Ulukalala used afterwards, but because of the classic account of Tonga given by William Mariner, who lived with his captors for four years.

Port-au-Prince, English whaling ship and privateer, 466 tons, with 28 guns, had despoiled Spanish shipping and towns along the western coast of South 175 177 609 721

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America before it visited Lifuka, Ha'apai. The ship's company included the lad Mariner, the captain's clerk, only 13 years of age when the ship left England and 15 when *Port-au-Prince* was attacked. The captain had expected from Cook's account that he would find a favourable place in Ha'apai for repairing his leaking vessel. The spot where Cook's ships had anchored and had escaped from the plot in 1777 was the scene of the tragic destruction of *Port-au-Prince* on 1 December 1806. With extraordinary imprudence the captain allowed Tongans with their weapons to wander about his ship. They were under orders from the wily Finau 'Ulukalala who had professed friendliness towards the captain. At a given signal the sailors were attacked by 300 Tongans; twenty-two were killed and their bodies cast into the sea. The captain and three others on shore also were killed. The rest, thirty-four, were spared to work the guns which Finau had especially coveted. He took a fancy to young Mariner, who became attached to his entourage and was given a Tongan name, Toki 'Ukamea (= Iron Axe). While the ship was being broken up to get the iron the barrels of whale-oil in the hold burst; eight Tongans were drowned. Taufa'ahau, the future king, then a boy about nine years old, was pulled out of the oil just in time. The ship was burnt and the silver coins and plate which had been taken from the Spaniards were melted and lost in the fire.(2)

Finau 'Ulukalala took eight cannons to conduct the war on a new scale in Tongatapu. In this invasion he first made an assault on the fort at Nuku'alofa. This fort, the largest of twelve then existing in Tongatapu, stood on the hill afterwards called Zion because of the Wesleyan chapel there. The fort was more than four acres in extent, surrounded by a reed fence nine feet high and two ditches, each twelve feet in width and of the same depth. While the bombardment was being made from the beach, Finau observed the effect from the reef where he sat on a chair taken from the *Port-au-Prince*. After one hour the fort seemed to show little sign of damage but, when Finau's men had gone closer and burnt the fort, they were able to enter it without any opposition. The havoc resulting from the bombardment was then evident, and Finau felt satisfied with the success of his new style of warfare. The bodies of 350 defenders who had been killed by the guns were thrown into the sea.

Finau's treachery and insatiable ambition were further revealed in the murder of his half-brother, Tupouniua. The plot was carried out, with Finau's connivance, by Tupouto'a, son of Tuku'aho, the Tu'i Kanokupolu whom Tupouniua had killed in 1799. After Tupouto'a had taken his revenge the chiefs in Vava'u retaliated against the murderer of their governor Tupouniua, and his accomplice, the lord of Vava'u and Ha'apai, Finau himself. The Vava'u chiefs built a fort on the hill-top at Feletoa, an inland village. It was so large that it included the cave on the hillside with the entrance to an underground stream, and it was capable of holding all the inhabitants of Vava'u, estimated at 8,000. Its area and the dimensions of its walls and ditches exceeded those at Nuku'alofa. Shrewdly the defenders of Feletoa had built the outside earth-walls of their fort so high that cannon-balls would strike them but not penetrate the interior of the fort. When Finau brought his army and his much-vaunted guns from Ha'apai he found that, after six hours' bombardment, his guns were useless against the Feletoa fort. As his weary men dragged the guns back to Finau's base on the shore at Neiafu, they freely cursed the Englishmen who could make guns fire cannon-balls but were not clever enough to make them walk! A peace settlement followed, but Finau, deceitful as

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an immediate attack on the outskirts of Nuku'alofa; they were observed by sentries before the attack could be carried out. Aleamotu'a had been on the defensive but the situation changed with the arrival of the army from the north which set out to punish the enemy. This they did with horrible severity.

On 9 January, as Taufa'ahau and his warriors were sailing past the rebel fort at Ngele'ia, near the beach and not far from Ma'ofanga, the defenders of the fort heaped curses on him. In Tongan custom this constituted an insufferable insult against a chief, and Taufa'ahau reacted violently. On the day following the cursing, he mustered his army and called them to prayer before the assault on the fort. When they rose from their knees Taufa'ahau addressed them,

> "and told them that he had not sought to be engaged in this war, but the Lord had evidently led him to it in defence of his cause, and that, as they were about to engage, no man was to fear".(15)

Rabone recorded in his journal (16) that when Taufa'ahau's men prayed before the attack, "they felt (according to their own expressions) just as when the revival of religion broke out". It was another evidence of fanaticism.

All inside Ngele'ia were slaughtered. One account gave 26 as the number, another 40, and these included women and children. Most of them were the people of Lavaka, the chief of Pea, who was absent from Ngele'ia because of illness, and who was "the chief promoter of the present war".(17) The missionaries' disapproval of this tragic event was rather mildly expressed. Hobbs wrote,

> "Why the king should order all to be killed I cannot say; when we heard of it we were very sorry that the women and children were not spared. Bro. Watkin entreated the king to spare the women and children in case that they (the king's army) should destroy the men of the fortress." (18)

Further statements by Hobbs do nothing to reduce the disgrace of Ngele'ia:

> "Taufa'ahau was most remarkable for sparing those he overcame in war, and on three former occasions not a single person was put to death when he conquered their fortresses. He has, however, been heard to say lately that he was tired of sparing those who used him ill, and that some of these whose lives would most certainly have been taken but for his interference in days of old, now were among the first to curse and execrate him, and blaspheme the name of the Most High, so that he would now serve them according to their deserts. . . . The people also say that the women here (Ngele'ia) were as bad as the men, especially in their curses and aggravating expressions." (19)

The heads of some of those slain at Ngele'ia were sent to Aleamotu'a by Taufa'ahau, in accordance with pre-Christian customs in warfare.(20) This barbarous incident as well as the deaths of women and children at Ngele'ia reflected sadly upon the character of Taufa'ahau as a professing Christian of some six years' standing, even allowing for his imperious will and his sharp resentment of insults.

On another Sabbath, 15 January, the gardens of the Nuku'alofa people were despoiled. Some of the defenders were on the watch and rushed out, pursuing the rebels almost as far as the fort of Pea and killing nine. Soon afterwards, a small fort at Te'ekiu, in Hihifo, was captured by Taufa'ahau's army, with only one defender killed.

On 25 January the most sanguinary episode of the war occurred. This was the sacking of the rebel fort at Hule, near Nukunuku. It was occupied by those who had driven out their chief, Tu'ivakano. Hobbs wrote that it had been "for a long time a nursery of persecution and rebellion".(20) Before the attack,

> "George told his men that they had not come from Ha'apai and Vava'u to possess Tonga but because the cause of Christianity was being persecuted." (21)

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[1837]

669 A call for surrender was first made, with an offer of pardon for all persons within
643 the fort. When this was refused, the whole of the 300 inhabitants of Hule, men,
721 women and children, were killed.
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798 Taufa'ahau was said to have been affected by finding that there had been a plot to ambush him on his way to Hule, and also that he was angered by seeing his brother fall, it was thought, mortally wounded, at the opening of the attack against Hule.[22] These things were irrelevant to the fact of the indiscriminate slaughter, as described by Watkin,

> "Hule was taken and sacked, with a tremendous number of persons perishing after offers of mercy had been rejected and derided, and the chief (Taufa'ahau) dared to do his worst." [23]

The dispossessed chief of Nukunuku, Tu'ivakano, with his followers, took a leading part in the carnage; their desire for revenge could not be an excuse. Taufa'ahau, in charge of operations, bore the main responsibility in any case.
669 Rabone, reporting from Vava'u, made these callous comments:
643
721
727 > "Most awful news. Not less than 300 men, women and children have been murdered in the taking of the fort at Hule. . . . It does appear that the Tongan heathen are given up to a reprobate mind and are bent upon their own destruction for they have positively refused to lotu (= worship) and madly preferred dying in their sins." [24]

797 To some of the missionaries the slaughter had been "a visible mark of God's
798 displeasure against sin". Rabone wrote that Hule had been "an awfully wicked fortress but judgement has overtaken them".[25] Such statements are incomprehensible to us today.

Tucker, who referred to the war as a rebellion against Aleamotu'a with the design of expelling him, commented on 28 January:

> "We hope that the Lord will interpose on behalf of the besotted and deluded heathen that they will submit to lawful authority and no longer persecute the followers of Jesus Christ." [26]

He had not heard about the horrors of Hule when he wrote this. However, he was conscious of the fanaticism that gravely affected Taufa'ahau in this period. On 22 March 1837, Tucker wrote that Taufa'ahau had told him that —

> "he had no intention whatever when marching to Hule to destroy men, women and children but gave orders to spare them; but in a moment it came into his mind to put all to the sword — he said he believed it was a just judgement of God upon the people of that place." [27]

Watkin's comment does not palliate the offence —

> "The heathen have indicated that they would show no mercy. This fact induced the Christians to show no quarter on one or two occasions during the war, and which I deeply regret." [28]

After making every allowance for the complicated causes of the war and the prevailing excitement, the sacking of Hule is the most deplorable section of Tonga's history since Christianity entered the islands.

797 John Thomas, the chairman of the mission, commented, on 15 January, when he received the first news of the fighting in Tongatapu,

> "The news is very distressing. We had hoped there would have been no war." [29]

Nevertheless, his journal and letters show how he had compromised himself and how he was affected by Old Testament incidents. Writing to his parents on 2 February, he said,

> "We would have preferred the conversion and not the death of the heathen. They have preferred darkness to light 'because their deeds are evil'. The obstinate unbelief of the

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175 reported that individuals resided within private gardens, separated
361 from each other by fences, or such common boundaries as roads and trails. Cook, more than a century later, reported a similar pattern of settlement. Such accounts suggest that the island population was relatively evenly distributed over most of the island acreage. Towns, as defined today, were unfamiliar, the population groupings being loosely clustered on land holdings of respective chiefs (Kennedy 1958, p. 162).

178 During the eighteenth century, newer types of weapons were
722 introduced (i.e., the bow and arrow, and a modified throwing spear,
669 from Fiji) and tribal fighting began within Tonga. What began as
[177 small scale conflicts gradually evolved into civil war which involved
411] all the Tongan islands. This period of warfare, which lasted until
361 the 1850s, effectively terminated the widespread house and garden
178 type of settlement (Kennedy 1958, p. 164). Replacing this tradi-
722 tional system for a limited time was a settlement pattern in which
361 most people resided within fortified structures. The war also
722 disrupted the garden agricultural system, owing to frequent raids
241 from neighboring tribes. As a result, treaties were formulated between two or more fortified groups, whereby land was guarded, planted, and harvested in common (Kennedy 1958, p. 64).

178 With the close of the civil war period (1799-1852), which
643 lasted for more than a half century, the three principal island groups comprising the Tongas were unified under the rule of
178 Taufau'ahau (Tupou I). However, the end of hostilities did not
361 signal a return to the traditional house and garden settlement